

The Church Quarterly Review

Edited by W. J. Phythian-Adams

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	PAGE
I. THE SEED OF ABRAHAM. By W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS	1
II. THE RELIGION OF THE SPIRIT IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By WILHELM SCHENK	12
III. FICTION AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT. By ANDREW L. DRUMMOND	29
IV. F. D. MAURICE: A RETROSPECT. By A. W. BALLARD	51
V. THE WAR	61
IS A BELIEF IN MIRACLES REASONABLE? By E. W. ADAMS	77
REVIEWS	86
SHORT NOTICES	99
PERIODICALS AND BOOKS RECEIVED	108

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CONTENTS

No. 279

APRIL-JUNE, 1945

VOL. CXL

REVIEWS.

The Original Order and Chapters of St. John's Gospel. By F. R. HOARE, p. 86.—*Eighteenth-Century Piety.* By W. K. LOWTHER-CLARKE, p. 88.—*Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity.* By WILFRED L. KNOX, D.D., p. 89.—*The Question of Anglican Orders. Letters to a Layman.* By DOM GREGORY DIX, p. 91.—*Redeeming the Time.* By JACQUES MARITAIN, p. 93.—*Dispensation in Practice and Theory, with special reference to the Anglican Churches,* p. 94.

SHORT NOTICES.

Light of Christ. Addresses given at the House of Retreat, Pleshey, in May, 1932. By EVELYN UNDERHILL, p. 99.—*Celibacy and Marriage. A Study in Clerical Vocation.* By HENRY R. T. BRANDRETH and SHERWIN BAILEY, p. 100.—*The World's Question and the Christian Answer.* By the BISHOP OF DERBY, p. 100.—*St. Augustine's Episcopate: a brief introduction to his writings as a Christian.* By W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., p. 101.—*Number One Millbank. The Story of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.* By JAMES RAITT BROWN, p. 101.—*The Old Testament in the Christian Church.* By H. F. D. SPARKS, p. 102.—*The Interpretation of the Bible.* Ed. by C. W. DUGMORE, B.D., p. 103.—*The Bible, the Church and South India, the Proposed Scheme of Church Union in South India considered in the light of Scriptural and Historical Principles with some positive proposals for its modification.* By TREVOR JALLAND, D.D., 1944, p. 104.—*The Hebrew Bible in Art.* By JACOB LEVEEN, p. 106.—*The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel.* By AUBREY R. JOHNSON, Ph.D., p. 105.—*St. Bernard. The Man and His Message.* By WATKIN WILLIAMS, p. 106.—*The Church of England.* By E. W. WATSON. Epilogue by ALWYN WILLIAMS, p. 106.—*Clement Joins the Church.* By BASIL F. L. CLARKE, p. 107.—*The Official Year-Book of the Church of England 1945,* p. 107.

PERIODICALS AND BOOKS RECEIVED

108



THE CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. CCLXXIX.—APRIL-JUNE, 1945

ART. I.—THE SEED OF ABRAHAM.¹

Galatians iii, 16: "Now to Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed. He saith not, unto seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ."

FROM the exegetical point of view no worse text could be chosen to demonstrate the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth. The words quoted from Genesis will not stand the strain put upon them. But St. Paul was not concerned—as we are not concerned—with the accumulation of proof-texts or "Testimonies." He was stating a fact, which is as true as it ever was, and which it is our urgent duty as Christians to proclaim to-day. "He saith not, unto seeds, as of many; but as of one." There are some who, forgetting or ignoring this fundamental fact, that *every* Divine promise finds its fulfilment in one Divinely anointed person and in him only, have sought to apply the blessing, in a purely secular sense, to the British Commonwealth of Nations. With these we are not now concerned, but they may be mentioned as victims of a common error. Educated people will perhaps spare no more than a smile for the speculations of what is called "British-Israel"; yet these same people (and there are many good Christians among them) will quote the Scriptures enthusiastically in support of Zionism. Strange that this should be so! That Christians in this twentieth century of Grace should be found abetting the revival of the very Nationalism which crucified

the Lord of glory! So strange indeed, that we do well to ponder it. Are we losing our grip not merely on the meaning of the Bible but on the very heart of the Christian Revelation? Is this to be the end of that age-long race of the faithful saints of Israel, whose "author and finisher is Christ"? No people in this stricken world can better claim our prayers and sympathy and help than God's ancient people, the Jews: yet we seem content to offer them not bread but a stone; not the Bread of heaven but the old stone of stumbling, the old rock of offence.

I.

Let us go back, then, to the Bible and refresh our memories of that pregnant title "the Messiah." Too often we treat it as an abstract, general term, almost synonymous with "Saviour," "Deliverer." In fact this habit of generalization has gone so far that some writers have invented a "Messianism" which the Israelites are said to have shared with their heathen contemporaries in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Nothing, of course, could be wider of the mark. "What think ye of Christ? whose son is he? . . . The son of David." There is nothing abstract or general about that. But why the "son of David"? Is it because the Messiah is to be a Saviour and Deliverer? Surely not. There is not a passage in the Old Testament which ascribes the promised Redemption of Israel to anyone but God himself. What then is the rôle, and wherein lies the importance of the Messiah? They are to be found in what seems at first sight an astonishingly narrow context, the building of the Sanctuary.

Take first the passage in the seventh chapter of the Second Book of Samuel, which is the *fons et origo* of the Messianic hope. David, we remember, had expressed a wish to build a more worthy and permanent "House" for the Name—the tabernacling Presence—of the God of Israel; but this, by the mouth of Nathan, had been strictly forbidden him. It had been the Divine good pleasure to dwell and walk in a tent, and would remain so till God himself ordered otherwise.

Rather would God give his people a fixed abode and resting-place, and to the man whom he had chosen to lead them a house (a dynasty) that would never be overthrown. And now comes the crucial passage. "I will set up thy seed after thee . . . and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son" (II Samuel vii, 12-14).

Is the word "seed" here "as of many" or "as of one"? Actually it passes from the first of these senses to the second; from the Davidic dynasty, the collective seed, to the individual member of it who shall build the Sanctuary and be declared the son of God. Why it does this is not our present concern, but we may note its bearing on St. Paul's argument in Galatians. The seed of David, like the seed of Abraham, comes to rest in a single figure, in whom all longings are satisfied, all prophecies and promises fulfilled.

We can hardly exaggerate the importance of this prediction when we have grasped its true significance. It is not (be it said again) that the new David is expected as a saviour and deliverer of Israel: he has only this one task which is specially singled out, to build the House for the Name. Yet it is precisely here that we touch the heart of Israel's existence. For the faithful Israelite, the Israelite who was loyal to the religion of the Covenant, life had a single focus, the hallowed plot of ground in David's city where the God of Israel dwelt in his people's midst. There the Israelite found through sacrifice the grace of cleansing and forgiveness, the joy of holy communion, the thrill of praise and thanksgiving: and thither, when absent in the body, the eyes of his spirit turned at all times in prayer. "One thing have I asked of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple" (Psalm xxvii, 4). What must it have meant, then, to such a man to see the Temple profaned by his faithless and idolatrous countrymen, to hear its doom

pronounced by the prophets, and finally to witness its destruction? How could he face a future in which Israel had been abandoned by the Divine Presence, and his House left to them desolate?

Then it was that the ancient prophecy of Nathan proved its power. Out of it, when the clouds gathered over Jerusalem, rose the one radiant hope which the darkness never overcame. From the shame and later from the ruins of the Temple, it led men to look for a House that would be filled with glory, and a son of David more worthy than Solomon to be its builder. How that hope was deferred from century to century; how under Zerubbabel it seemed on the verge of fulfilment; how the rise of the Hasmonaeans transferred it for a while from the tribe of Judah to the tribe of Levi; how the Apocalyptists turned from it in despair to their realms of super-celestial fantasy—all this we need only take note of in passing. The essential fact is that however often, and in whatever form, this prophecy might be repeated, the intimate connection of the Messiah with the new Temple was preserved unchanged.

So it is with Ezekiel. Though he does not say who is to build the Temple, his references to the new David are concerned almost wholly with his place and functions in its courts. So it is still more with Zechariah. "Behold, the man whose name is the Shoot (of David); and he shall grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the Lord: even he shall build the temple of the Lord; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne and he shall be a priest upon his throne" (vi, 12-13). The order here is significant and must be carefully noted. The Seed of David first builds the Temple; only then does he sit and rule. Why? Because only then will he be *known* to be the Messiah. Only the Messiah can build the true Temple, the "House" of Nathan's prophecy, the new Sanctuary which God has commanded; and it is only God's acceptance of it which can *seal* his Messiahship. *It is only when the Divine Presence has been manifested, when the Glory has filled the Temple, it is only*

then that Messiah can be recognized, and his reign of righteousness begin.

This vital connection of thought is implicit in all the other great Messianic prophecies. In the Book of Jeremiah, for example, it is found in the two versions of an oracle about the Shoot of David (xxiii, 5-6; xxxiii, 14-16): in the first of which "the Lord our Righteousness" is to be the new name of the prince, while in the second it is to be that of Jerusalem. These two have one and the same new name, because Messiah has come and has finished his appointed work. So, according to Ezekiel (xxxvii, 23-8), the prince will rule over Israel when God has saved and cleansed them and has set his Sanctuary in their midst for evermore. For then the Lord will rule in righteousness from his "place," and in all his holy mountain there will be peace (cf. Haggai ii, 9). There the wolf will dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid (Isaiah xi, 6); and there the Prince of Peace will reign for ever (Isaiah ix, 6). There God will set him at his right hand; and all his subjects will share the holy adornments of his royal priesthood, "after the order of Melchizedeck" (Psalm cx, 3-4; cf. Isaiah lxi, 6). And this will be the sign that these things are coming to pass, that when God has set his king upon his holy hill of Zion, he will ratify the promise made through Nathan, "I will be his father, and he shall be my son." "I will tell of the decree," Messiah will say, "The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee" (Psalm ii, 6-7).

Such is to be the glory of Jerusalem when the Messiah has built the Temple, the glory which irradiates all the post-Exilic prophecies. But it is not to be enjoyed in passive contemplation. "Arise, shine: for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee" (Isaiah lx, i). What Israel has received, Israel must give, and give in full abundance. The Gentile world is waiting for that Epiphany: the peoples of the east, the isles of the sea are waiting. Let but that light appear, that reflection of the Divine Glory, and they will stream to it in their myriads, laden with gifts for God's

altar. "They shall come up with acceptance on mine altar, and I will beautify the house of my glory" (Isaiah lx, 7). And then will be known the meaning of the name Immanuel, the name of power, of defiance of the hosts of evil, the name of victory (Isaiah viii, 8, 10). "In those days it shall come to pass that ten men shall take hold, out of all the languages of the nations, shall even take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that *God is with you*" (Zechariah viii, 23).

II.

So far the picture is clear: and that side of Zionism which is religious rather than political might well seem justified. The Jews who to-day wail at the wall of their vanished Temple are true to the Scriptures at least in this. They may look for a Messiah, but what they long for even more passionately is the House which he only can build and the blessings which will flow from it into Zion and through Zion to the world. What they have yet to learn is the secret of a new and better Temple not made with hands, and a Jerusalem transformed from glory into glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit (cf. II Corinthians iii, 18).

For what is the Glory of God? There is another anointed figure in Old Testament prophecy, on whom the Jews have too seldom fixed their eyes. It is the form of a Servant, despised and rejected, yet one upon whom too rests the name Immanuel. "But thou, Israel, my servant, . . . the seed of Abraham my friend, . . . I have chosen thee and not cast thee away; fear thou not, for *I am with thee*" (Isaiah xli, 8-10). Scholars have disputed much about the identity of this Servant, called to preach good tidings to the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted and proclaim liberty to the captives (Isaiah lxi, 1). Is it a man, who represents in his single person the obedience which his people have refused? Or is it a collective figure, the faithful remnant of Israel, the true "seed of Abraham"?

Once again, we note the ambiguity about that word. Is it "as of many" or "as of one"? But the answer now is not

quite so simple. The seed of David comes to rest in a single figure; but when the Messiah has finished his work and entered upon his kingdom, he shares his new name with Jerusalem, his royal priesthood with his people. So too the seed of Abraham is constricted to a single figure; but when the Servant has made his great self-offering, he shares his service with the seed for whom he died. "He shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand" (Isaiah liii, 10). It was St. Paul who first declared the meaning of that verse, when at Pisidian Antioch he applied to the Church the words addressed to the Servant: "For so hath the Lord commanded *us*, saying, I have set thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the uttermost part of the earth" (Isaiah xlix, 6; Acts xiii, 47).

"Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." It is only when we combine these two thoughts, the light that is to shine from the glorified Jerusalem and the light that is to be spread by the Suffering Servant, that we can understand what is meant by the more explicit Messianic prophecies. For what is this light, what is this glory, of God? When we think of glory, we think almost instinctively of—Solomon! When we read of the Glory filling the House of God so that flesh and blood could not stand to minister therein (Exodus xl, 35; I Kings viii, 11), we picture an intolerable blaze of splendour. This light, then, which is to draw the Gentiles to God's altar, will it not be much the same; a demonstration of Divine majesty which will command the natural man's awe and obedience and wonder?

But "my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord" (Isaiah lv, 8). It was not after all for nothing that the Holy of Holies itself enshrined a paradox, the Glory in the Cloud. It is through the cloud of his suffering and humiliation that the Servant manifests the Glory of the God of Israel. That is why we need this vision, this fruit of captivity and exile and of deep heart-searching repentance, to check and correct our understanding of the

earlier Messianic prophecies. Measured by it, the glory of Solomon becomes a pomp and a vanity. Illuminated by it, the hope of a glorious world-wide theocracy is seen to be a snare of the Tempter. Not thus will the Seed of David reign from Zion, not such will be the light that lightens the Gentiles.

III.

But it was only with the coming of Jesus that the whole truth was made known. We have to depend here, of course, on human evidence with all its familiar frailties: but there is one thing about the New Testament which leaps to the eyes. Somehow or other the men who wrote it had received such an understanding of the Scriptures as no Jew before them had ever displayed. Can we do otherwise than ascribe this illumination to Jesus himself? It would be hard to find a better, more obvious, explanation. Who else could have combined the two lines of prophecy, fusing into one the Seed of Abraham and the Seed of David, the Servant and the Messiah? And if this is so, then it is to Jesus also (even as the Gospels testify) that we must ascribe the revelation of the new Temple which he came to build through Death and Resurrection (John ii, 19-21, cf. Matthew xxvi, 61, etc.). There, indeed, struck the hammer that breaketh the rocks in pieces (Jeremiah xxiii, 29), crushing at a blow the hopes of Jewish nationalism. "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up . . . But he spake of the temple of his body." Who else but Jesus could even have thought of such a fulfilment of Nathan's prophecy?

If this be so, what followed his Resurrection can be most simply explained. We have seen that the decisive test of the Messiah was not that he should build a Temple—a Zerubbabel, even a Herod, could do that—but that he should build the Temple which God himself had commanded and which he would fill with the Glory of his Presence. It was because of that that the Apostles were bidden to wait in Jerusalem till the day of Pentecost was fully come (Acts i, 4; ii, 1). And it was because on that day they experienced the

coming of the Presence that they went forth and spake the word of God with boldness. While they had been with Jesus they might acknowledge him, privately and almost blindly, to be the Christ; but they could not *preach* him, till the decree from on high had been issued, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee" (cf. Acts xiii, 33). That was the seal which confirmed once for all the Lord's Anointed; and it was given not in words but in "tongues as of fire." Now they knew the meaning of that "Baptism with Holy Spirit" which the Fore-runner of the Lord had proclaimed.

First it meant the quickening into a new life of the dry bones of Israel (Ezekiel xxxvii): a life not of political independence but of freedom from the bondage of sin. The people of God had been re-born by an act of new creation: and because of this he who was "of the seed of David according to the flesh" was "declared to be the son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead" (Romans i, 3-4). But since this new life was the life of the Holy One of Israel himself, this Baptism with Holy Spirit enshrined an even deeper mystery: it was God in his fulness taking possession of the Spiritual House, of which his new sons in Christ were the living stones (Colossians ii, 9; I Peter ii, 5; cf. Galatians iv, 6). So the seal of Messiahship not merely received its confirmation but, even as it did so, passed through the King to his royal priesthood (cf. John vi, 27; II Corinthians i, 22; Ephesians i, 13). In him they became "Abraham's seed, heirs according to promise" (Galatians iii, 29), but in him they took up also the mission of the Seed of Abraham, the labours and sufferings of the Servant (cf. Romans viii, 17). Theirs, through him, was the inheritance of the Glory but theirs too to share with him the darkness of the Clouds; theirs to present themselves, in the communion of his perfect Sacrifice, a world-wide Tabernacle of Witness to the Eternal Love.

But thought could not rest there. "The Son of God" was an ambiguous term. It might mean an essential Sonhood,

or it might mean a Sonship by adoption, a status to which the Messiah was to be raised by God, as in Nathan's prophecy. It is this latter of which the second Psalm speaks and of which St. Paul says we have been made partakers (see also Hebrews i, 5; ii, 10). But what was Jesus in himself? Who was this who could not only redeem men from sin but fill them with the Spirit of the Living God? Now this question answered itself. If the Spirit of God, his Glory, his inmost Being, is revealed by Jesus as love, love must be the beginning and love the end of this mystery; love not merely from God towards man but in the most secret bosom of the Godhead. So that truth emerged, which was implicit already in the Scriptures but had been only half-glimpsed by the wise: the distinction, *within the Deity*, between the Sender and the Sent, between the Creator and his Creative Word, between the invisible God and his Image, the Angel of his Covenant, between the Nameless and his Name, between the Father and the Son.

And with this, not the Being of God only but his holy purpose for the world became manifest. Perfect Love, perfect one-ness of will through perfect mutuality in one Holy Spirit, this was seen to be the unoriginate Source, whose living waters spread healing and salvation. Perfect Love, building on earth his Temple, the image and reflection of his Glory, his light to the Gentiles, this was seen to be the age-long meaning of the Covenant, the secret of Immanuel. Perfect Love, gathering to him at the last a world transformed by love, this was seen to be the fulness of the blessing of Abraham. Perfect Love, of whom and through whom and unto whom are all things, GOD who will be ALL IN ALL (I Corinthians xv, 28).

IV.

Will the Jews hear this Gospel? That depends (does it not?) on how we live it ourselves. The day has gone by when it could be hoped to win souls from unbelief by an array of texts buttressed with theological arguments. There is a challenge in the Scriptures still; but it is not so much a chal-

lenge to the Jews, it is a challenge to those who have been called to be God's new Israel, his royal priesthood, the first-fruits of his new Jerusalem. Will the *Church* hear this Gospel? That is the primary question. Will it manifest by its life the glory of the Indwelling Presence? Will it demonstrate to the world by the witness of its love and unity the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth?

It is for this that we must work and pray with one heart and one will, not counting on our own strength but believing that in our weakness we shall be made strong. It may be that thus we shall provoke some at least of God's ancient people to jealousy, and help to remove their blindness (Romans xi, 14). But, in any event, let us deceive neither ourselves nor them. For them, for us, for all men there is but one Way of Salvation, one abiding citizenship, one hope, one glory, one peace. Other gospel than this there is none. No! Not though an angel from heaven should preach one! Let us only learn to bear a more faithful witness to *this* Way, and we need have no fears for the issue.

W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS.

¹ A Sermon preached on January 28, 1945, in the University Church of St. Mary, Oxford, upon "the application of the prophecies in Holy Scripture respecting the Messiah to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (The Benefaction of Dr. J. D. Macbride).

ART. II.—THE RELIGION OF THE SPIRIT IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND.

I.

THE religious life of England in the first half of the seventeenth century was full of intensity and restlessness. Puritanism, the dominant religious current of the age, had generated a great deal of spiritual energy but had not been able to satisfy it to the full. Many who were seriously concerned about religion noticed around them much superficial lip-service and outward show of piety. They felt the urge towards a renewed inwardness, towards a closer grasp of religious substance, beyond the limits of Puritan legalism and dogmatism. Once again there were some who warned against the letter that killeth and called for a regeneration of the spirit that giveth life.

Let us first remind ourselves of a group of Anglican thinkers who, appalled by the furious religious controversies of that Age of Faith, tried to restore peace between the warring parties. A typical and, in an unobtrusive way, influential member of this group was the "ever-memorable" John Hales of Eton (1584-1656). His was a clear and comprehensive mind, always intending to bridge the gulf between theological doctrines. This was more than the result of a kindly temperament; it was fundamentally due to his ability of combining cultural elements which were then, once again, in danger of falling apart. If, as Ernst Troeltsch suggests, Renaissance and Reformation can be interpreted as a reappearance of the conflict latent in the dual origin of European civilization—the conflict between Christianity and the culture of antiquity—this is even more true of the age of Puritanism. The hostility between religion and secular culture was lurking behind many controversies of the 17th century, and it was this hostility which

Hales and his friends were eminently fitted to reconcile. Hales himself belonged to Ben Jonson's circle in London, together with Selden, Carew, Davenant and Suckling. He was at the same time in close touch with several members of Falkland's Convivium Theologicum at Great Tew, near Oxford, which included his friend William Chillingworth, the author of the famous *Religion of Protestants*. At Eton he developed a friendship with the Provost, Sir Henry Wotton, the ambassador, poet, connoisseur and friend of Bacon and Donne; and Andrew Marvell regarded it as an honour to have known him and to have "conversed a while with the living remains of one of the clearest heads and best prepared breasts in Christendom." His knowledge of the Church Fathers was profound, but he was equally versed in the writings of the classical authors and was among the first to recognize Shakespeare's genius.¹

Hales was immensely grieved to see that the religion of love gave rise to so much hatred; "nothing troubled him more," wrote Clarendon, "than the brawls which were grown from religion." To him the theological controversies of his time seemed to be about "conceits" and "opinions," not about religion at all. Like Chillingworth he believed that there could be no doubt whatever about the fundamentals of Christianity. If we concentrated on the essentials, "we might in hearts be united, though in our tongues we were divided. . . . It is 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace' (Eph. iv, 3), and not identity of conceit, which the Holy Ghost requires at the hands of Christians."²

It was, then, the spirit of the one Christian religion that mattered, not the letter of one of its sects. Hales was, however, aware that many ambiguities and dangers were concealed by the term "spirit." He taught that there were two meanings of this word: it could either mean "a secret elapse or super-

¹ Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century* (1874), i, 170-260; Hales, *Works* (1765), vol. i, pp. x, xviii.

² Hales, *op. cit.*, ii, 94.

natural influence of God upon the hearts of men, by which he is supposed inwardly to incline, inform and direct men in their ways and wills," or else it could mean "that in us which is opposed against the flesh, and which denominates us spiritual men." To avoid all misunderstandings Hales declared firmly: "The Spirit in the second sense is that I contend for; and this is nothing but reason illuminated by revelation out of the written word."³

Not only was human reason, guided by divine revelation—"recta ratio"—sufficient to lead men to salvation, but this powerful help was offered to all men without an exception, and it was certainly not necessary to have any special learning for this purpose; scripture, wrote Chillingworth, was "sufficiently intelligible to all that have understanding, whether they be learned or unlearned. . . . Nothing is necessary to be believed but what is plainly revealed."⁴ There were some, it is true, who did not make proper use of their opportunity; we were bound to believe that in the end there would be "a select and chosen company of God." But it was not up to us to determine who would belong to it, and meanwhile it was a precept of charity to suppose that everyone professing the name of Christ was "of his fold."⁵

All these ideas were fully shared by the leading thinkers of the *Cambridge School of Platonism*—Benjamin Whichcote (1610-1683), John Smith (1618-1652), Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688), and Henry More (1614-1687). They, too, were opposed to the "captious niceties" and "deep speculation" of school theology, for "the way to heaven is plain and easy, if we have but honest hearts."⁶ The soul of man was kindled from within by the spirit which was, as Whichcote put it, anticipating the famous Quaker expression, "the candle of the

³ Hales, *op. cit.*, i, 68, 69.

⁴ Tulloch, *op. cit.*, i, 326 (G. Hales, *Works*, iii, 69).

⁵ Hales, *op. cit.* iii, 14.

⁶ Cudworth, *Sermon to the House of Commons*, March 31, 1647.

Lord, lighted by God, and lighting man to God.”⁷ Unless the soul was kindled, all religion was empty talk, “a Doctrine that is wrapt up in Ink and Paper.”⁸ “As the eye cannot behold the sun,” wrote John Smith following Plotinus, “unless it be sun-like . . . , so neither can the soul of man behold God unless it be God-like, hath God formed in it, and be made partaker of the divine nature.”⁹

Man could, therefore, know of God only because he had been created in the image of God and there was, in spite of his Fall, something of God in him. Now God was a rational being himself and had illuminated man with “right reason.” Any attempt to depreciate reason in the name of religion would, therefore, mean “to go against God,” because reason was “the very voice of God.”¹⁰ There were, of course, supernatural truths which unaided reason was unable to discover; they were higher than human reason, but not opposed to it. Reason and faith were mutually dependent parts of the same structure, and not, as in the Puritan scheme of nature and grace, separated by an unbridgable gulf. Thus the Platonists were also attempting a synthesis of reason and faith, of Greek philosophy and Christian theology; they, too, wanted to preserve the balance between our heritage from classical antiquity and the religion of Christ.

II.

So far we have been describing the thought of learned theologians who spent their lives in the seclusion of their University or College. *John Saltmarsh* (d. 1647), another preacher of spiritual religion, was a contemporary of Whichcote and Henry More at Cambridge, taking his M.A. at Magdalene College in 1636. He did not, however, take up an

⁷ Tulloch, ii, 99.

⁸ John Smith, *Select Discourses* (1660), vii, 323.

⁹ John Smith, “*Of the True Way or Method of attaining to Divine Knowledge.*”

¹⁰ Whichcote, *Aphorisms*, 76.

academic career and eventually became a chaplain in Cromwell's army. Before leaving the university he published at Cambridge a slim volume, called *Poemata Sacra, Latinè et Anglicè scripta*, which reveals him as a gifted poet in the metaphysical style of Donne and Herbert. No further poetry, however, came from the pen of this young academic poet. A few years later he repudiated his earlier literary attempts. "I am now ashamed," he wrote in 1646, "to owne those Raptures . . . having tasted of a more glorious Spirit."¹¹ And there was more in this than a condemnation of a youthful interest; it was an indication of Puritan influence, and this showed itself clearly in the central part of his religious thought—in his teaching on the spirit.

In one respect Saltmarsh's developed views were undoubtedly near to those of the Cambridge Platonists. No one could have stressed more strongly the spiritual part of religion and rejected more decidedly the struggles over doctrine and church-reform. "The True Church," he wrote, ". . . is the church, or body of Christ, which is baptised by one Spirit into oneness and unity." The opinion that a model form of church government would bring about true religion was to him "but a finer kind of idolatry." Ultimately there was only the voice of the Spirit which could convey the truth of God: "The mystery of salvation is no other than . . . God with us, . . . and that . . . is our nature or weakness anointed with the Spirit, even God himself, who is strength."¹² This life-giving spirit was the Indwelling Christ, a spiritual incarnation of Christ within us.

The question now arises whether the idea of spirit taught by this influential preacher is the same as that proclaimed by Hales and the Platonists. It would be best to remind ourselves of Hales' distinction between the two meanings of this word. To which category does Saltmarsh's idea belong—is it "reason

¹¹ Saltmarsh, *Shadows flying away*, Preface.

¹² Saltmarsh, *Sparkles of Glory* (1647; edition of 1811), 44, 26, 74, 227.

illuminated by revelation," or "a supernatural influence of God"? There can be no doubt about the answer in view of Saltmarsh's contempt for human reason. "I dare not take my discoveries of Christ from Reason," he declared, "nor seek the glory of him in Forms so much below him."¹³ It was, he thought, characteristic of the Christian religion that, unlike all other religions of the world, it was not "founded upon reason and nature."¹⁴ He insisted, therefore, that one should free oneself from "vaine Philosophie" and "the wisdom of the Greek."¹⁵

Here the issue becomes quite clear. The Puritan Saltmarsh was reopening the gulf between reason and faith which Hales and the Platonists, following an ancient tradition within Christianity, had tried to bridge. Human reason and secular learning thus became positive obstacles to spiritual salvation. By removing them something infinitely higher could be gained: direct communion with God. Men of Hales' type would never have claimed to be specially inspired, over and above the common measure granted to all men as spiritual beings. The peculiar atmosphere of Puritan religious life, on the other hand, was favourable to the growth of a certain kind of prophetic religion. At their conversion and often on subsequent occasions, the Puritan Saints experienced extraordinary effusions of the spirit, and these "breathings of God" were, as Saltmarsh put it, like fire in their bones, forcing them to proclaim their message to all the world. This direct relationship provides the clue to the paradox, that men could be on intimate terms with a God whom they conceived as a most majestic and terrifying being.

It was in this way that Saltmarsh became a prophet of the Lord. While he was with the Army, he and William Dell were, to Richard Baxter's chagrin, "the two great Preachers at the

¹³ Saltmarsh, *Some Drops of the Viall* (1646), 115.

¹⁴ Saltmarsh, *The Smoke in the Temple* (1646), 15.

¹⁵ Saltmarsh, *Some Drops of the Viall*, 115.

Head Quarters."¹⁶ But in the important conflict between the Officers and the Army Levellers in 1647, culminating in the Putney Debates of the Army Council and the attempted mutiny at Ware, he was clearly taking the part of the Levellers. When the mutinous supporters of the "Agreement of the People" were imprisoned and one of them shot (on November 15), he was deeply moved. On December 5 he seems to have had a vision "that the great and dreadfull day of the Lord is neere, when all men shall be judged by Jesus Christ." Although he was living at that time in Essex, he determined to get at once to the Army in Windsor. There he severely reproached several high officers in the true prophetic manner, and then he informed General Fairfax "that God had revealed unto him, that he was highly displeased with his committing of Saints . . . the Lord . . . had of late left them, and was not in their counsels, because they had forsaken him."¹⁷ Having carried out his prophetic mission he returned to Ilford, apparently with forebodings of death. Two days later he was in fact taken ill and died the same afternoon, consumed by the "fire in his bones."

III.

We cannot then avoid the conclusion that behind the widespread use of the word "spirit" there were concealed two fundamentally different ideas. One of them was based on the harmony of faith and reason, the other on their utter discrepancy. According to the first, represented by the humanist adherents of spiritual religion, the untutored and divinely illuminated reason of the simplest man could grasp the essentials of faith. The Puritan divines, preaching the other, also "assured the people that common folk possessed all the wit and knowledge necessary to understand and believe the gospel,"¹⁸ but they did not think that human reason could be of any help in this process. While the humanists taught that learning was

¹⁶ Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696), 56.

¹⁷ Saltmarsh, *Wonderful Predictions* (1648), *passim*.

¹⁸ Haller, W., *The Rise of Puritanism* (1938), 267.

not *necessary* for salvation, relying on that minimum of right reason given to all, the Puritan spiritualists regarded learning as a *hindrance* to those who had been spiritually transformed. Small wonder then that the unlearned among those who felt themselves inwardly called by the Spirit, began to glory in their lack of learning. There is always something to be said for a Faustian disgust for academic scholarship after a course in "Philosophie, Juristerei und Medicin, und, leider! auch Theologie," but the new despisers of learning rejected something of which they had but little knowledge or none at all. The consequences of this inverted snobbery were inevitable. Their lack of education, so far from freeing them from the cramping effects of merely human "notions," made them submit to all sorts of private dogmas and panaceas which they held and defended with the stubborn fanaticism of parochial minds.

The blame for this remarkably modern conflict (one is reminded of some intellectuals apologising to the "proletariat" for their superior education) must be shared, then as now, between both parties concerned. It is quite true that a good deal of university-teaching was either incompetent or had degenerated into theological hair-splitting, while even those who had something important to say, like the Cambridge Platonists, did very little to overcome the isolation of the universities. There was, on the other hand, a great longing among many sincere Christians for the truth of God and "the inward substantial part" of religion. Some of them, who were called "Seekers" in contemporary writings, had not been able to receive satisfaction from any of the Puritan groups. They had, perhaps, been Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists in turn, and still felt left out in the cold. Their position was movingly described by Isaac Penington in 1650: "I can neither receive anything that is new," he wrote, "nor return to any thing that is old: but every thing is darkness, death, emptiness, vanity, a lye . . . I am weary of all things, of Religion, Reason, Sense, and all the objects that these have to converse about: but yet there is somewhat in stead of these that I would fain finde

within, and somewhat I would fain meet with without, which if once my spirit might be satisfied in, I should finde some rest; till when I cannot but remain truly miserable, and be fit for nothing, but to torment, and to be tormented."¹⁹

This religious yearning was, in many cases, eventually satisfied by new prophetic revelations. The prodigious crop of prophecies in the 1650's included some that were ludicrous or mad, but this should not make us insensible to the element of genuine religious power in many of them. No one who has tried to see George Fox through the eyes of his followers and friends can fail to notice the marks of what we too, in default of a better word, must call the "spirit." This applies equally to another leader of the early Quakers, James Nayler (1617-1660), in whom this prophetic religion found its most picturesque expression.

Nayler, who described himself as a "Husbandman," was a soldier in the Parliamentary army from 1642 to 1650. Invalided out of the army, he returned home and resumed his agricultural work. It was there that he received his first message from the Lord. "I was at the Plow," he told the judges at Appleby in 1653, "meditating on the things of God, and suddainly I heard a Voice, saying unto me, Get thee out from thy Kindred, and from thy Father's House." Like Christian in Bunyan's allegory, he left wife and children. "I was commanded," he continued his evidence in court, "to go into the West, . . . (and) when I had been there a little while I had given me what I was to declare." When one of the examining magistrates remarked: "I never heard such a Call as this is, in our Time," Nayler answered with great confidence: "I believe thee."²⁰

The charge brought against him at his first trial was that of blasphemy, because he was alleged to have said that Christ was in him. This in itself was merely a commonplace among

¹⁹ Pennington, *A Voyce out of the thick Darkness* (1650), 19, 20.

²⁰ Nayler, *A Collection of sundry Books, Epistles and Papers* (ed. G. Whitehead, 1716), 12-13.

the believers in the "Indwelling Christ," but in his case it led to an actual identification with Christ. Nayler's appearance (he wore long hair and a beard) and his extraordinary spiritual powers made some of his followers believe that he was Christ himself who had, at last, appeared for the second time. One of them wrote to him: "Thy Name shall be no more James Nayler, but Jesus," and some women knelt and kissed his feet. All this turned Nayler's head, and he allowed his followers to stage a Messianic entry into Bristol on October 24, 1656, following the pattern of Christ's entry into Jerusalem. Nayler was on horseback, a young man led his horse, another walked in front, and some other men and women followed behind. As they went along, they sang "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth."²¹

Here Christian prophecy reached its extreme limit. The symbolical idea of the "Indwelling Christ," his reincarnation in the human soul, became transformed into an historical event, his reincarnation on earth.

IV.

During the Puritan Revolution which, as we now know, was a period of profound social upheaval, this kind of prophetic religion could not fail to have far-reaching effects. At a time when old-established social institutions and venerable traditions were breaking down, when all the political and economic grievances of the nation were forcefully voiced and the most fundamental problems of human society were raised in theory and practice, the dividing line between religious and social questions was bound to be thin. There was, in fact, a strong connection between Puritan spiritual religion, which was fairly widespread among the lower classes, and social radicalism. The problems of social justice, as is well known, played a large part in the voluminous writings of the village Hampdens and inglorious Miltons, for once not mute, which are preserved in

²¹ cf. Braithwaite, W. C., *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (1912), 252.

the great Thomason Collection in the British Museum. Among these men there were many adherents of spiritual religion who were by no means content to find the truth of God within themselves, but were also trying to realize it between man and man.

We have already mentioned that Saltmarsh intervened on behalf of the Army Levellers who, he thought, were standing up for "Justice and Righteousness."²² Gerrard Winstanley the Digger, whose pamphlets contain interesting expositions of spiritual religion, heard a voice saying to him while he was in a trance: "Worke together. Eat bread together Who-soever it is that labours in the earth for any person or persons, that lifts up themselves as Lords and Rulers over others, and that doth not look upon themselves equal to others in the Creation, the hand of the Lord shall be upon that labourer Declare this all abroad."²³ Out of this divine command grew the Diggers' attempt, in 1649, to cultivate some common lands in Surrey and to establish an agricultural group on communist lines, which was to be the starting-point of a general social transformation described in Winstanley's *Law of Freedom* (1652).

The Diggers have received considerable attention in recent years, but it is less well-known that the Quakers of the 1650's also held and spread ideas of social radicalism. They attacked the ruling authorities in much the same way as the Levellers had done, by reproaching them for not fulfilling their earlier promises of removing "all Oppressions out of the Land" and of perfecting "the peoples Liberty and Freedom."

The anti-Royalists, they asserted, had apostatized from their former purity and had become "Great in the Earth and so built and set up the same thing which they had thrown down."²⁴ What had once seemed a struggle between

²² Saltmarsh, *A Letter from the Army* (1647), 1.

²³ Winstanley, *The New Law of Righteousness* (1649), 48. (Printed in *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley*, ed. G. H. Sabine (1941), which contains an admirable introduction by Prof. Sabine).

²⁴ Fox, George, the Younger, *A Noble Salutation* (1660), 7.

Right and Wrong revealed itself as a mere replacement of one evil authority by another. "What is there effected unto this day (1659)?" some Friends asked, ". . . what Oppression taken off from the People?" "Nothing yet but bondage and slavery is left upon them."²⁵

Under these circumstances divine vengeance was sure to intervene. It was quite beyond doubt to the first Quaker generation that the Second Coming of Christ was at hand. On that day the judgment of God would reverse the established values of the corrupt world: the mighty would be put down from their seats and those of low degree would be exalted; the drama of Dives and Lazarus would be enacted again and this time on the grand scale. According to their temperament or their context, the Quakers concentrated on either of the two aspects of this ultimate transvaluation of values. It was with evident satisfaction and righteous anger that James Nayler proclaimed: "You lustful ones, which live of the fat of the Earth, . . . Dives-like, . . . you are fitted for destruction, your Day is coming."²⁶ Those, on the other hand, who had been "chopped to pieces, as flesh for the Pot, and ground to dust, as though they had not been God's workmanship,"²⁷ would have cause to rejoice. The cause of the poor and needy would then be pleaded, and for them the verdict would be contained in that almost magical word: liberty. God would be "breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free," "both as to Civil and Spiritual Rights."²⁸

"Justice and liberty"—these, we may remember, were the war-cries of the revolutionaries in the 1640's and here they reappear as the hallmarks of the Quakers' millennium. These conceptions are, it is true, notoriously vague, but for the Quakers they assumed a somewhat clearer shape through their

²⁵ Burrough, Edward and others, *Declaration from Quakers* (1659), 10; Richard Hubberthorne, *Coll. Works*, 235.

²⁶ Nayler, James, *op. cit.*, 135-136.

²⁷ Howgill, Francis, *The Measuring Rod of the Lord* (1658), 25.

²⁸ Fox, George, the Younger. *A Few Plain Words* (1659), 4; Crook, John, *Epistle of Love* (1660), 17.

reading of the Bible. True to their Puritan inheritance, they pictured the millennium as a fulfilment of the Old Testament ideals of social justice. Some of them, however, seem to have hoped for a state of Christian anarchy. "Christ," wrote the young Quaker James Parnel, "comes to fulfill and end all outward lawes and government of men."²⁹ George Fox, too, looked forward to a time when there would be no administration of law; then "Countrey people would soon decide their businesse, . . . this would be the way to take off oppression, this is the way to bring the nation like a garden and a free nation, a free people."³⁰ Here the underlying conception of a small self-governing community of neighbours is remarkably similar to ideas current among the Levellers.

Whatever the Quakers were thinking of the future, they were always insisting on social equality—"equality in all things, man with man," because mankind was "made of one Blood and Mould, being the sons of Adam by nature and all Children of God by Creation."³¹ Richard Farnworth attacked those who had "abundance of Earth, joyning field to field, and land to land," which they had got together by "fraud, deceit and oppression."³² "The earth," Ben Nicholson wrote, "is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and . . . he hath given it to the sons of men in general, and not to a few lofty ones which Lord it over their brethren."³³ Many of the early Quakers were deeply aware of the cleavage between rich and poor, between the "gentlemen" and the "common people." "It is the poor that suffers," George Fox stated bluntly, "and the rich bears with the rich."³⁴ That Christians could let one another "die and starve for hunger and want," while others had too

²⁹ Parnel, James, *A Shield of Truth* (1655), 20.

³⁰ Fox, George, *Fifty-nine particulars laid down for the regulating things* (1659).

³¹ Fox, George, *To Protector and Parliament* (1658), 14; *The Royal Law of God* (1671-72), 40.

³² Farnworth, Richard, *Cesars Penny* (n.d.), 4.

³³ Nicholson, B., *A Blast from the Lord* (1655), 10.

³⁴ Fox, George, *Instruction to Judges and Lawyers* (1657), 27-28.

much, manifested clearly that they were Christians only in name, that they were "not members of the body of Christ."³⁵

V.

What, we may well ask, had men like the learned John Hales to say to all this turbulent radicalism? What he actually did say (he died in 1656, the year of Nayler's entry into Bristol) we do not know. Parliament deprived him of his post and he suffered in silence, being forced to sell his precious library, and finally reduced to extreme want. Yet we should be making a mistake if we were not to recognize that in his thought, too, there were radical potentialities. His emphasis on the spiritual equality of all believers led him to oppose the claims of the clergy that they alone had the power of admitting or refusing entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven. Everyone, he wrote, had "the keys of the kingdom of heaven committed to his power, both for his own and others' use."³⁶ It was another religious consideration which suggested to him a certain conception of social equality. In his daring *Tract concerning Schism* he declared that social differences between men could not derive any support from Christianity or nature, "for we have believed him that hath told us, 'That in Jesus Christ there is neither high nor low'; . . . which saying cut off all claim most certainly to superiority, by title of Christianity." Inequality arose only from "agreement of men among themselves," and, we may conclude, could therefore be changed by a different agreement.³⁷

This was by no means the only example known to Hales of a conflict between the standards of Christianity and the ways of the world. It applied to all secular power, "because in gaining and upholding temporal kingdoms nothing (is) so usual as the sword and war," while the Kingdom of Christ was

³⁵ Burrough, Edward, *The True State of Christianity* (1658), 11.

³⁶ Hales, *op. cit.*, i, 96.

³⁷ Hales, *op. cit.*, i, 131.

"erected and maintained . . . not by violence, but by love."³⁸ This discrepancy showed itself also in economic life; "most of the bargains which the World makes," he wrote, "are copied out according to that pattern, which Judas gave at the betraying of Christ." He reminded rich men that they were at a great disadvantage concerning the salvation of their souls; they could indeed be saved, but he advised them so to live as if they could not.³⁹ The economic tendencies of his time were viewed by him with strong suspicion. "Usury" he rejected outright and deplored what he believed to be Calvin's unfortunate departure from an ancient tradition in declaring it to be lawful. "What shall we say to God himself," he asked, "who everywhere decries it! What unto all good men, . . . who, for many hundred years, have still protested against it?"⁴⁰ He was, in fact, profoundly aware of the gulf between "that Christianity which is commanded unto us in the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, and that which is current in use and practise of the times."⁴¹

Ideas of this kind were in the mind of a man of similar religious conviction and temper, the merchant William Walwyn, who was among the most influential leaders of the Levellers.⁴² Why was it, then, that Hales never made an attempt to realize his social ideals? True, he was getting old when the political troubles started, and had always by temperament been drawn to the retired life of a scholar, rejecting all opportunities of entering public life; he was, as he knew himself, not cut out for a martyr. But he probably had deeper reasons as well. He must have been horrified by the fanatics of spiritual religion who, as it seemed to him, called "their own private conceit the

³⁸ Hales, *op. cit.*, ii, 291, 292.

³⁹ Hales, *op. cit.*, 83, 84, 247.

⁴⁰ Hales, *Works*, i, 200, 201.

⁴¹ Quoted by N. E. Scott, *Harvard Theological Review*, 1917, 256.

⁴² For Walwyn, *cf.* the present writer's article, "A Seventeenth Century Radical" in *Economic History Review*, vol. XIV, No. 1, 1944.

Spirit,"⁴³ and who threatened not only to overthrow social and economic institutions, but to destroy art, literature and scholarship as well. It was, for example, a typical Quaker statement that all "Poets, Jesters, Rhimers, makers of Verses and Ballads . . . are for the undoing of many poor souls." And Winstanley denounced all "Traditional Knowledge, which is attained by reading, or by the instruction of others"; "he that only contemplates and talks," he asserted, ". . . and doth not employ his Talents in some bodily action . . . is an unprofitable son (of mankind)."⁴⁴ These men must have seemed to the friend of Ben Jonson and Selden the grave-diggers of the inherited culture of England, as they intended to be and undoubtedly were. The wide appeal of Puritan spiritual religion contributed to the impoverishment of English cultural life and helped to give permanence to that dissociation of religion and culture, which to some extent at least, was due to the effects of Puritanism.

Hales' attitude to social problems was therefore necessarily more complex than that of the Puritan radicals, and herein he was widely representative. His combination of divergent elements, to which attention has been drawn above, enabled him to see things from more than one point of view, both from within and from without. He could judge his world by standards transcending it and thus see its limitations, yet he was so intimately connected with the cultural achievements of his age that he was most reluctant to disturb its established traditions and institutions. L. C. Knights, to whom I am greatly indebted for these views, has pointed to such a double attitude in Ben Jonson, where "a naïve delight in splendour is present at the same time as a clear-sighted recognition of its insignificance judged by fundamental human, or divine, standards."⁴⁵

⁴³ Hales, *op. cit.*, i, 82.

⁴⁴ Smith, Humphrey, *To the Musicioners* (1658); Winstanley, *Works* (ed. Sabine), 579, 577.

⁴⁵ Knights, L. C., *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* (1937), 187.

In the Civil War men like Hales and the Cambridge Platonists had to find that they were not represented at all, whatever side they may have actually joined (Falkland and Chillingworth became Royalists, the Platonists remained on fairly good terms with Parliament, Hales kept aloof). Chillingworth's admirable description of the warring parties—"Publicans and sinners on the one side against Scribes and Pharisees on the other"⁴⁶—indicates their detached position. But their complexity of thought was unlikely to have much influence at a time of open strife and violent upheaval, when the issues were forcibly simplified. Nor did they seem to have felt a strong urge to shape contemporary affairs; if they took part in them at all, they did so only, like Falkland, to fulfil an unpleasant duty. It may perhaps be said that they showed too little zeal for reform where it was really needed; that their attachment to the established order made them neglect such ideals of spiritual liberty and social justice as were implicit in their thought. Like St. Thomas More and other humanists of the Renaissance whom they resembled in many ways, they never attempted to realize whatever "Utopia" their free minds led them to discover. Those who were determined to make such attempts can therefore hardly be blamed for going their own ways. Thus a situation arose which is all too familiar: those with comprehensive minds were timid in action, while the courageous were narrow-minded and destructive of much that could never be replaced.

WILHELM SCHENK.

⁴⁶ Chillingworth, *Sermon before Charles I at Oxford in 1643* (*Works*, London, 1836, 521).

ART. III.—FICTION AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

IN 1837 Mrs. Frances Trollope, mother of the author of *Barchester Towers*, wrote *The Vicar of Wrexhill*. The Oxford Movement had been going on for four years, but Mrs. Trollope gave no indication of this. Her High Churchman is no Tractarian, but an old-fashioned "high and dry" who satirizes "enthusiasm," uses the word "saint" with sarcasm, and commends "the true Church of England religion, which he calls Protestant." The only kind of "religious novels" that flourished were popular Evangelical tales like Legh Richmond's *Dairyman's Daughter* (which was translated in nineteen languages with a circulation of four million copies within fifty years). It was only after about ten years that the supporters of the Oxford Movement saw the need of tracts more popular than the "Tracts for the Times," so widely read in parsonage and mansion. Dr. Joseph Ellis Baker has surveyed the landscape of High Anglican fiction from its controversial beginnings in the 'forties, to Charlotte M. Yonge's genteel novel, ending with *John Inglesant* (1876) and the rise of ritual. Despite a few gaps, Dr. Baker's presentation is a stimulating guide to a neglected province of literature¹.

"Aunt, do tell us what Puseyism is,—we can't get on at Almack's without being able to talk about it!"² The young ladies of the 'forties had their need supplied, but unfortunately for them the love interest was conspicuously absent. The earlier Tractarian novel was belligerent in tone, story subordinated to sermon, the characters constructed to argue, and the situations devised to illustrate a theory. For instance, take Robert Armitage's *Doctor Hookwell; or, the Anglo-Catholic Family* (1842). It consists of three tremendous tomes, with appendices, weighted with extensive quotations from 17th century divines. We are told

¹ Joseph Ellis Baker, *The Novel and the Oxford Movement* (Princeton, 1932). A Ph.D. Thesis accepted by the English Dept. of Princeton University.

² "Religious Stories," art. in *Fraser's Magazine*, Aug. 1848.

that the young ladies of Swanbourne Hall would "make the most of their good and learned friend while he was there." But even they must have found his veiled lectures rather prosy. Another study of the Oxford Movement in a rural parish is William Gresley's *Church-Clavering ; or, The Schoolmaster* (vol. XXIV of *The Englishman's Library*). This story appeared in 1843. It tells how Mr. Primer's son is tempted to enter the dissenting ministry, which opens opportunities denied him in the Church owing to his poverty. He is satisfied with the ambition of becoming a parish schoolmaster, when warned by the Vicar that "to undertake the office of minister, without laying on of hands of the Bishop, is a presumptuous and a sinful act." If the Anglican clergy had hitherto found dissenting preachers a nuisance, the Tractarians denounced them more ecclesiastically as "schismatics."

The influence of the Camden Society is reflected by several books which bring Church Architecture into fiction. F. E. Paget's *St. Antholin's* (1841) is concerned entirely with the restoration of mediaeval features and furnishings and the duty of the laity to give of their best, under clerical leadership. Paget's *Milford Malvoisin* (1842) has the curious sub-title "Pews and Pew-holders." The Tractarians were thorough Conservatives in everything except the aim of abolishing sumptuous manorial seats and box-pews generally, in favour of open benches. F. A. Paley, Hon. Secretary of the Camden Society in 1844, wrote *The Church Restorers: a Tale Treating of Ancient and Modern Architecture and Church Decoration*. The parishioners are said to have been delighted by Church Restoration, though Evangelicals asserted it was "emptying the churches." Paget's *Warden of Berkingholt* (1843) attacks the Evangelicals, but censures the more extreme Tractarians. He ridicules the practice of lighting candles at prayer and writing notes to one's greengrocer dated "The morrow of the Translation of the Bones of S. Symphorosa" ("Such persons must be . . . but geese—neither more nor less").

The Evangelicals replied in didactic tales such as W. F. Wilkinson's *The Parish Rescued: or laymen's duties, rights and dangers* (1845). Austin Pennycross, the High Church parson, goes in for symbolism, a stone altar, a rood screen and the like. He revives Sunday games, on Laud's lines. In honour of St. Thomas

à Becket, wakes are to be held. Mothers implore their children to quit these unhallowed festivities. Fortunately, "Mr. Beaver, in a transport of zeal, rushed into the nearest cottage, borrowed an axe, and with his Bible in one hand and the weapon in the other, made his way to the Maypole, and with half a dozen sturdy strokes levelled the abomination to the ground." Thus the parish is "rescued." In another parish we find *Margaret, or the Pearl*; she learns Gregorian chants and works altar cloths with such designs as the Virgin's head and the papal banner. To Charles Tayler, the author, such were priests' "cobwebs—devices to catch flies" (1844). The parson's intentions become clear when he forbids the laity to read the Bible. The congregation becomes thinner, a dissenting chapel is built; and Margaret leaves the community for another place where she finds the parish church a vital centre of Evangelical light. Anne Howard's *Ridley Seldon* (1845) has the singular sub-title, *The Way to Keep Lent*. Ridley and his wife are seen eating an ordinary breakfast, while his brother Philip sits apart self-confined to lenten fare. "You are miserably low church, Ridley," he protests; "I do not wonder the dissenters think they have a sort of half claim upon you." Philip tries to introduce Tractarian story-books into his brother's family. "And so," concludes Ridley ". . . is the poison of the 'Tracts for the Times' sugared and prepared for little children." Asceticism was not confined to the Puseyites. If the Evangelicals did not fast, they abstained from "the play-house," cards and other "worldly" amusements. Thus, Agnes in *Experience, or the Young Church-Woman* (by "M.E.S.B.," 1845) refuses to go to the Opera: "I would never go anywhere to which I could not take my Saviour . . . *should* we like to die in such a place?" (She marries a lord—virtue rewarded).

During the 'forties Tractarianism reinforced Conservatism against the rising tide of encroaching Liberalism. This is seen in two novels by William Gresley. In *Clement Walton, or The English Citizen* (1840 and 1849, vol I, *The Englishman's Library*), we are informed that "among the Dissenters . . . there is an absence of that humble submission to authority, which is so amiable a feature of the Christian character, as developed in the English Church . . . Corresponding with this spiritual defect there is a

political disaffection, a democratic arrogant temper, an anxiety to claim rights rather than to perform duties." Mr. Walton impressed on his groom that it was a sin not to do his duty in the station to which he had been called (which meant keeping the harness clean). This good master paid no more than the usual wages, but his servants were content; this he attributed to his practice of reading prayers morning and evening to the household. He had lived three years in New York and found that "the principal inhabitants were thoroughly sick of republican government." If only the mass of Englishmen were "sound Churchmen" there would be no fear of revolution. Mr. Walton was fortunate to live in a district where "the rich were looked up to; the middle class knew its station; the poor were well cared for and contented." In contrast to this ideal, Gresley delineates in dark colours the portrait of *Charles Lever; or, the Man of the Nineteenth Century* (1841, vol. XV, *The Englishman's Library*). "Instead of imbibing the old English feelings of deference for superiors³, Charles was taught to abuse and ridicule the natural aristocracy of the place." Trained under "a dissenting father, a latitudinarian schoolmaster, a radical magistracy, and revolutionary and atheistical press," he is a typical "man of the 19th century"; he is radical enough to advocate even decimal coinage and the ballot!

Paternalism was the order of the day. Conditions described by Emma Jane Worboise in *Overdale* (1869) were of course more marked twenty years earlier. "Soup and flannel and medicated port wine were to be had at the rectory, provided the suppliants were regular at the Sunday services, and did not dishonour the Lenten observances, and sent their children to the schools, and dropped proper curtsies or touched their hats in all humility, when his reverence and 'my lady' were encountered." The middle class, not requiring these domestic comforts as charity, were not amenable to clerical authority. The vicar in Felicia Skene's *St. Alban's* (1853) attributes social insubordination to "Protestant

³ *cp.* the contemporary Prussian Conservative's claim to monopolise patriotism, the Junker's boast of "alt Deutsch" combining reactionary politics and orthodox Lutheranism.

self-will," which refuses to accept hereditary authority as final and will not accept as God-given the station into which a man is born. Disraeli, in his *Endymion* (1880) remarks: "The Liberal party rather depends on the Low Church." But even forty years earlier Low Churchmen were not all progressive. For instance, in Wilkinson's *Parish Rescued* (1845) the Tractarian clergyman is not even given the credit of making life happier for the poor: his humane efforts are stigmatised as "shallow flirtation with the lower orders."

It is significant that Disraeli's "Young Englandism" and the Oxford Movement are classed together in Wilkinson's *Parish Rescued* and in Howard's *Ridley Seldon*. "Dizzy" seems to have imbibed a quite serious interest in the Church from the young Cambridge men who formed his political group in 1841. A rejuvenated Church might save England. Its hierarchical structure, its dignified cathedrals and parish churches, its incomparable liturgy were the ecclesiastical counterpart of a stratified society, "the stately homes of England," an old-world constitution, pageant and ceremony. If the Church had been renewed by the Oxford Movement, might it not be the remedial agent in the renaissance of the nation? Both Church and State should continue to rejoice in the principle of Authority, and the colour of mediaevalism, but active function should displace sinecure. *Noblesse oblige!* Political, ecclesiastical and economic strands were woven into a Semitic pattern in *Coningsby* (1844), *Sybil* (1845) and *Tancred* (1847). The secession of Newman to Rome, however, caused Disraeli to lose hope in the Oxford Movement⁴. The agitation over "Papal Aggression" in 1850 convinced him that England's religion must be Protestant. Later ritualism he condemned as "Mass in masquerade" and penalised by the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. In the "General Preface" to his novels (1870 ed.) Disraeli looks back on the youthful idealism of "Young England" with its quixotic chivalry, veneration for ancient forms, Jacobite romanticism.

⁴ Charlotte Brontë's Eliza Reed in *Jane Eyre* (1847) was a "rigid formalist"; after her mother's death she inevitably gravitated to Rome and became a nun.

II.

If Disraeli looked for a rejuvenated Toryism with a churchly basis, Charles Kingsley was a "Christian Socialist" of Broad Church sympathies. He associates himself with the views of his Chartist hero in denouncing the Tory politics of the clergy, their refusal to allow free discussion, "commanding us to swallow down, with faith as passive as that of a Papist, the very creeds from which their own bad example . . . has . . . alienated us" (*Alton Locke: Tailor and Poet*, 1850). Kingsley, like Disraeli, was for action and not immobility, for service and not for privilege. But there was a world of difference in the ideal and its method—regeneration from above and regeneration from below. To Disraeli, the only natural leaders of the people were the aristocracy and gentry: to Kingsley, the leaders must come from the people themselves, with the help of educated men of good will. Contrast Mr. St. Lys, the Tractarian priest and "fine gentleman saint" of *Sybil* with the reforming layman of *Yeast*: "Give me the economist, the sanitary reformer, the engineer—and take your saints and virgin's relics and miracles!" Kingsley's Protestantism was not of the zealous Evangelical or dissenting type (Alton Locke's mother is represented as a relentless, obscurantist Calvinist). But it was robust Protestantism, characteristically English in its acceptance of natural instinct as a sure guide—marriage as opposed to celibacy, the free use of the private judgment in religion, and the right of the individual to act for himself in politics and to over-step artificial class barriers (*cp.* Lancelot's friendship with Paul Tregarva, the discharged gamekeeper in *Yeast*). Few novels dealing with politics and Tractarian issues present such a living picture of an age as *Yeast* (1851), with its heterogeneous elements blended by a passionate love-story. Saintsbury has described *Hypatia* (1853) as "a book of extreme brilliancy, where the author almost entirely eluded the curse that rests on most classical novels." Its vitality is due partly to the fact that "New Foes with an Old Face" are depicted—scepticism, asceticism, aristocracy, priestcraft. Further, Kingsley had

his own age in mind, while trying to avoid anachronisms ; "my idea," he wrote to Maurice, "is . . . to set forth Christianity as the only really democratic creed." The Church of worldly ecclesiastics and fanatical monks, crass orthodoxy and obscurantism, this was the boasted Church of the over-rated "Fathers" ; and the heroine was the philosopher, Hypatia, who held up the torch of learning in the darkened world of the 4th century ; Raphael, a Jew, attacks the idea that the Deity would derive pleasure from a girl's celibacy. Tractarians were up in arms against a book "calculated to encourage young men in profligacy and false doctrine." Kingsley's next book, *Westward Ho !* (1855) dealing with the conflict between Protestant England and Catholic Spain in the Elizabethan age, was "an outburst of triumphant Protestantism and nationality" (*Christian Remembrancer*, Oct. 1857). His reliance on instinct, his capacity for compromise, and his readiness for action, were characteristically English. "Without Kingsley, the Oxford Movement would lack epic proportions. He was not only a great warrior himself, but an excuse for belligerence in others. Without Kingsley, there might have been no *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*." (J. E. Baker).

"The Fathers made me a Catholic," declared J. H. Newman. His *Callista* (1856) was a glorification of the Church of the third century—an answer to Kingsley's unflattering account of the 4th century Church in *Hypatia*. Ascetism is defended as an aid to the Christian life as opposed to physical well-being. The lives of saints and martyrs are extolled. Agellius, a Christian, loves Callista, a Greek girl who is interested in Christianity though still a pagan. A plague of locusts is ascribed to the Christians, who suffer mob violence. Callista is captured in Agellius' hut. She becomes a Christian in prison and joins the Church, becoming a martyr and saint. Her body works miracles, including the cure of Juba, brother of Agellius, from madness (a punishment for using his private judgement).

Newman's *Loss and Gain* (1848) does not abound in action like *Callista* ; it is austere and barren of the pleasures of plot, yet it has been appreciated as an "admirable novel" by Henri Bremond. Fiction is here used to convey dramatic insight into the values

that make character and determine conduct. The ethos⁵ of Oxford in Newman's day is graphically reproduced. Studious undergraduates seriously discuss the issues of life (and ecclesiastical issues in particular) with all the confidence of youth, on long walks, at tea-parties in their rooms and in country parsonages. We are introduced to a number of definitely "viewy" young men—Bateman the ritualist, Freeborn the Evangelical, Sheffield the liberal, and Charles Reding the hero. Bateman's main interest is church "restoration."⁶ Freeborn takes his friends to a "tea-meeting" of despised Evangelical undergraduates. As the flurried servant-maid of the lodgings goes in and out, a dropping fire of "profitable" remarks is kept up. "Have you seen the last 'Spiritual Journal'?" asks No. 1. "A very remarkable article that, upon the death-bed of the Pope." "No one is beyond hope," answers No. 2. "What is it about?" asks Reding. "The late Sixtus XVI," says No. 3, "he seems to have died a believer." A sensation. No. 2 explains that Mr. O'Niggins, of the Roman Priest Conversion Branch Tract Society was in Rome during his last illness. Granted an audience with the Pope, he at once urged the necessity of a change of heart and besought him to receive the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible. "The Pope listened with marked attention and displayed considerable emotion." So Newman made sport of his erstwhile Evangelical associates and their jargon. In another scene he satirised the Broad Church School, to which he belonged before becoming a Tractarian. Sheffield asserts that "Coventry, in his Dissertations, makes it quite clear that Christianity is not a religion of doctrines." Reding asks, "Who is Coventry?" "Not know Coventry? He's one of the most original writers of the day; he's an American, and, I believe, is a congregationalist . . . You are not *au courant* with the literature of the day unless you read

⁵ A favourite phrase of Newman's. Writing in 1837 of Jane Austen, he remarked: "What vile creatures her parsons are! She has not a dream of the high Catholic *θ os*."

⁶ Reding becomes conscious of the deformed condition of his father's church, with "its outside staircases, its unsightly galleries, its wide-intruded windows, its uncouth pews, its low nunting table, its forlorn vestry, and its damp earthy smell. . ." (ch. xii.)

Coventry. He is no party man ; he stopped with the Dean of Oxford . . . he and Lord Newlights were said to be the two most witty men at the British Association two years ago."

- Charles Reding, like Newman, is retired and over-sensitive. He is obsessed by religious difficulties ; far from falling in love, he is drawn to celibacy. The autobiographical element is marked in *Loss and Gain*. Reding's estrangement from Sheffield reminds us of Newman's break with Rogers (who lived on the same stair). Reding resembled Newman in delaying his conversion to Rome until convinced he was not deluded, in avoiding meeting Roman Catholics during the interim period, and in being received by "Fr. Dominic, a Passionist." Both used their private judgement to reach the goal and then denounced its further use. Both experienced what it meant to give up the status of a Church of England parson. The most amusing scenes in *Loss and Gain* are certainly Reding's unexpected visitors at his East End lodgings before he finally goes to the Passionist House. First comes Jack the kitchen-boy at St. Saviour's. "I have got promotion now." "So it seems, Jack, but what are you ? Speak." "Sir, I stand next to an Angel now . . . hear me out, Mr Reding . . . I am a member of the Holy Catholic Church, assembling in Huggermugger Lane." "Ah," said Charles, "I see ; that's what the 'gods' call you ; now, what do men ?" Jack explains that they do not follow men, but the spirit . . . No, they are not Irvingites. "But I ought to introduce you to my friend, who is more than an Angel," he proceeded modestly, "being nothing short of an Apostle, sir. Mr. Reding, here's the Rev. Alexander Highfly." These representatives of the Catholic Apostolic Church are followed by a lady who professes herself "at present a Plymouth Brother." "We are all scriptural, and therefore all one ; we may differ, but we agree. I'm for election and assurance ; my dearest friend is for perfection ; and another sweet sister is for the second advent . . . I believe you are partial to sacraments and ceremonies ?" While Reding tries to explain that he could not accept her liberal offer to nominate his favourite doctrine, he is interrupted by a loud voice on the stairs : "I hope, sir, it's not a bargain yet ?" It is "Zerubbabel," collecting subscriptions to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem (stock yielding at least 4 per cent.).

Then follows Dr. Kitchens with his "Spiritual Elixir," and divers others who seek to win Reding to some "fancy religion." Finally, the hero finds peace in the Church of Rome. And the Roman Catholic Church still circulates *Loss and Gain* as effective propaganda⁷ despite its long dialogues and lack of love interest. The hero, unlike Zola's characters, attains his goal in spite of heredity, environment, and self-interest.

The Nemesis of Faith, by A. J. Froude, appeared in 1849, the year after *Loss and Gain*. Froude had been a protégé of Newman and had helped him with his "Lives of the English Saints." He had gradually moved from Tractarianism to scepticism⁸. When the *Nemesis* was published, William Sewell, sub-rector of Exeter College, hearing that an undergraduate had a copy, committed it to the flames publicly—an excellent advertisement⁹. The same day Froude resigned his Fellowship. Markham Sutherland, the "hero" of the *Nemesis* is weak, irresolute and self-distrustful. He is ordained but never settles down in his stylish suburban parish. He resigns and in Italy falls in love with a married woman. The love-interest (far bolder than was common then) is awkwardly combined with theological argument; the letters dealing with his ordination actually precede the sketch of his boyhood. We leave him, not in an East End "settlement" doing good after the manner of *Robert Elsmere*, but "amid the wasted ruins of his life, where the bare, bleak soil was strewn with wrecked purposes and shattered creeds." The Catholic Faith was the salvation of Charles Reding: it was the nemesis of Markham Sutherland.

The secession of Newman to Rome and of Froude to agnosticism produced a fresh batch of Tractarian novels. Elizabeth Harris wrote *From Oxford to Rome*; and *How it Fared with Some who*

⁷ A paper-covered edition is published by Burns Oates and Washbourne, Ltd.

⁸ It is curious that while J. H. Newman went over to Rome, his brother Francis became a complete and militant sceptic. J. A. Froude left the Church for want of faith, while Hurrell Froude was a fanatical Tractarian.

⁹ Sewell's sister, Elizabeth, wrote Tractarian novels such as *The Experience of Life, or Aunt Sarah* (1852).

Lately Made the Journey (1847). *Her Rest in the Church* (1848) deals with a curate who is dismissed for his Tractarian innovations, The parish is invaded by immorality and dissent. He is allowed to return and resume his festivals and vigils. In spite of a mother's tears, he refuses to bury a Dissenter's child in consecrated ground. All of a sudden, he joins the Church of Rome, dazzled by her imperial claims. The moral is—"rest in the Church where God has placed you." A much more vigorous novel is W. J. Conybeare's *Perversion ; or the Causes and Consequences of Infidelity* (1856). This "tale for the times" attacks Tractarianism among the many other 'isms, but finds the chief causes of Infidelity in the religious excesses of the clergy and the temptations to free thought at Oxford. Humour is not wanting and the satire is more robust than in most books of this type. During the 'fifties the Tractarians engaged in acute controversy with Roman Catholics and Liberals, but that did not prevent them from being fiercely attacked by Borrow in *Lavengro* (1851) and *Romany Rye* (1857). In George Borrow old English Protestantism became incarnate and belligerent ; the novels of Scott are blamed for fostering false mediaevalism in the minds of the Middle Class, thus preparing the way for the resuscitation of priestly claims and priestly pomp. Charlotte Brontë has a notable passage in *Villette* (1853, ch. xxxvi) in which an English Evangelical states her faith to her Catholic lover in Belgium :

"I told him how we kept fewer forms between us and God ; retaining, indeed, no more than, perhaps, the nature of mankind in the mass rendered necessary for due observance. I told him I could not look on flowers and tinsel, on wax-lights and embroidery, at such times and under such circumstances as should be devoted to lifting the secret vision to Him whose home is Infinity, and His being—Eternity. That when I thought of sin and sorrow . . . I could not care for chanting priests ; that when the pain of existence and the terrors of dissolution pressed before me . . . *then*, even the scientific strain, or the prayer in a language learned and dead harassed with hindrance a heart which only longed to cry—

' God be merciful to me, a sinner ! ' "

III.

During the 'fifties and 'sixties we can watch the Oxford Movement operating in the parishes and gradually transforming the English Church—its sanctuaries and services—and affecting the life of the community in town and country. Many illustrations of this may be drawn from Samuel Butler's *The Way of All Flesh* (c. 1872), which Dr. Baker does not mention in his comprehensive survey. When Ernest Pontifex returns home from time to time to visit his aging parents, he notices that the tide of Evangelicalism has receded each time. The whole character of the service was changing, though you would not call it high-church. Theobald no longer wore bands and he no longer changed into a black gown for the sermon. The tyrannical father found himself gradually yielding to the pressure of his wife and daughter. They got him to introduce more chanting, also *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861) which was then a badge of High Churchmanship. During the ministrations of a *locum* one summer, he found that Mrs. Goodhew and old Miss Wright had taken to turning towards the east while repeating the Belief. Theobald drew the attention of the family to this unwelcome innovation at dinner, but Charlotte merely replied: "Really, papa dear, you *must* take to calling it the 'Creed' and not the 'Belief.' " They tried to make him say "Alleluia" instead of "Hallelujah." Holy Communion must be celebrated once a month instead of only five times in the year as heretofore. "He struggled in vain against the unseen influence which he felt to be working against all that he had been accustomed to consider most distinctive of his party." (ch. lxxxiii).

In the novels of Charlotte M. Yonge we find the Oxford Movement taking shape in daily life, particularly that of the upper and upper middle classes¹⁰. The High Church outlook was becoming as much a sign of the times as the Gothic Revival churches of Sir Gilbert Scott. The alert daughter of a Congregational minister in Mrs. Oliphant's *Phoebe Junior* (1876) remarked: "One reads Scott for Scotland (and a few other things),

¹⁰ *cp.* Amy Cruse's *Victorians and their Books* (1935). Ch. iii, "The World of Miss Charlotte M. Yonge."

and one reads Miss Yonge for the Church. Mr. Trollope is good for that, too, but not so good. All that I know of clergymen's families, I have got from her." Charlotte Yonge had been brought up under Keble's guidance, and for many years he read the MS. of all her books (Romanes, *C. M. Yonge*, p. 32). Her stories are not controversial like the earlier Tractarian "tales," but they diffused a High Anglican atmosphere that idealised the manor and the rectory. The villains came from outside the Church's pale and the chief cause of sorrow and disaster was shown to be spiritual pride and the neglect or misuse of Church privileges. The hero in *The Heir of Redclyffe* (1858) is a "gentleman-saint" (how the old "High and Dry" party would have sniffed at this combination !) Surviving mediaeval traits in English society were romanticised and the unpleasing realities of industry, democracy, and science were ignored. In spite of a juvenile touch and a priggish gentility, *Redclyffe* exercised an extraordinary influence on the Pre-Raphaelites and is said to have held the enthusiasm of Oxford undergraduates as late as 1865. There is much about Church Restoration and Auricular Confession in *The Daisy Chain* (1856). *The Trail: More Links of the Daisy Chain* (1864) brings the exemplary May family into contact with an American girl, bred in liberal religion but drawn to Anglicanism. "The fuller and more systematic doctrine, and the development of the beauty and daily guidance of the Church, had softened the bright American girl, so as to render her infinitely dear to her English friend." The Christian ideal as pictured by Charlotte M. Yonge was a religion of good works and good form, church-going and social subordination. It was institutional rather than mystical, neither profound nor exalted.

If Yonge is pious, Trollope is reverent, manly, and soundly ethical. Though he lived at a time when the ideals and practices of the Oxford Movement were leavening English Church life everywhere, he has not much to say about it directly. Indeed, one could read all Trollope's novels without being aware that Tractarianism was a vital power. In his *Autobiography* he admitted : "In writing about clergymen generally I had to pick up as I went whatever I might know or pretend to know about them." He

gives an admirable picture of the social life of the clergy, but does not seem interested in their religious life, even in the *Barchester* novels. "I costumed and styled my people ecclesiastically for the sake of novelty. Beyond that I never intended clerical portraiture to go" (T. H. S. Escott, *Anthony Trollope*, p. 112. 1913). When we turn to *The Warden* (1855) we hear much about the amiable holder of a sinecure and his family life, little of the ecclesiastical issues involved. In Mrs. Oliphant's *Phoebe Junior* (1876) part of the story deals with a young clergyman appointed warden of a similar almshouse; a "political Nonconformist" addresses public meetings with the help of local supporters. The modern reader feels that it must have been a real weakness to the Church of England that endowments should still be used to pay a resident chaplain a regular salary for reading daily prayers to a handful of pensioners.

In *Barchester Towers* (1857) the clergy as a whole are "high and dry" rather than Tractarian. "They had no candles on their altars, either lighted or unlighted; they made no private genuflexions . . . chanting was confined to the Cathedral and the science of intoning was unknown." The Bishop and Mrs. Proudie are very Low. Her protégé, Mr. Slope, "trembles in agony at the iniquities of the Puseyites" and as an Evangelical promotes prayer meetings and "Sabbath-day Schools." Archdeacon Grantly tends to be High out of antipathy to the Proudies and Mr. Slope. He is certainly not prepared to cross himself or advocate the Real Presence, but is ready to promote fashions likely to annoy his antagonists, such as encouraging young clergy to wear "the longest frocks and the highest breasted silk waistcoats." Mr. Arabin, on the other hand, was an ardent disciple of Newman at Oxford, "so high indeed that at one period of his career he had all but toppled over into the cesspool of Rome." Mr. Oriel, in *Doctor Thorne* (1858) was an advanced ritualist for those days. "He delighted in lecterns and credence-tables, in services at hours of winter mornings when no one would attend . . . and in all the paraphernalia of Anglican formalities which have given such offence to those of his own brethren who live in daily fear of the scarlet lady" (ch. xxxii). As a priest he scorned

matrimony, fasted on Fridays and was supposed to scourge himself. In spite of professions of celibacy, a number of young ladies turned Puseyite, a Miss Gushing in particular. Mr. Oriel overcame his hostility to matrimony and got engaged to Miss Gresham : whereupon Miss Gushing became an Independent Methodist and cut up the cover intended for a credence-table into slippers for the feet of her new pet preacher.

The Last Chronicle of Barset (1867) finds Mrs. Proudie still in control. "Services on Saints' days she regarded as rank popery, and had been known to accuse a clergyman's wife, to her face, of idolatry, because the poor lady had dated a letter, St. John's Eve." One wonders if a bishop's wife would be likely to hold such extreme views as late as 1867 ? Would a militant Tractarian like Mr. Arabin have "professed himself a confirmed Protestant" on deciding not to go over to Rome ? (*Barchester Towers*, xx). Dr. J. E. Baker takes anachronisms like these as instances of Trollope's incomplete and out-of-date knowledge of the Church. Some of his clergy are secular-minded fox-hunting parsons of a previous generation, "de-foxed as far as Victorian taste required," e.g. the career of Mark Robarts in *Framley Parsonage* (1861). Like George Eliot, Trollope thinks in terms of the parsons he knew in his youth. Tractarians and Broad Churchmen disappear from his vision. The Church is no Divine Society, sacramentarian to the core : it is "our happy Establishment." High Churchmen are staunch Protestants, Evangelicals are vulgarians trying to intrude into a club reserved for gentlemen. "We have seen such a world before," remarks Dr. Baker, "—in the *Vicar of Wrexhill*, by Trollope's mother." The mid-Victorian novelist is seen carrying on the family tradition, including an antipathy to Evangelicals. Mr. Slope is "the unbeneficed descendant of my mother's *Vicar of Wrexhill*." Archdeacon Grantly was modelled on Mrs. Trollope's father, according to Escott. Anthony as a boy had been introduced to clerical life on its social side. When he grew up, he produced mature characters whom he had known in germ, as it were. He himself had a certain temperamental affinity with the old High Church party ; he was a man of the world, conscious

of the gradations in rank, insular, urbane, sensible and, withal, kindly.

IV.

When Disraeli "dished the Whigs" by forestalling their Reform Bill in 1867, a new chapter was opened in religion as well as in politics. Liberalism asserted itself in the removal of dissenters' grievances, the enlargement of opportunity, the growing freedom of thought. The balance of Victorian complacency and compromise was to some extent disturbed. The clear-cut outline of finality was broken by experiment and blurred by a breath of misty imagination. This new movement soon affected the English Church. The Oxford Movement had hitherto been a bulwark of political and social conservatism and its Catholicism had certain insular limits that must not be transcended. The Tractarians took over from the old High Church party a conviction that the National Church was responsible for the maintenance of social stability, while Erastian claims were rejected. A "great personage" in Disraeli's *Endymion* says: "Now we know what Liberalism means on the Continent. It means abolition of property and religion. Those ideas would not suit this country." These words were written in 1880, but might easily have been penned a generation earlier. The Tractarian novel preached the duty of obedience to authority in economic and social spheres; it was dangerous to think¹¹. Thus Felicia Skene's *S. Albans; or, the Prisoners of Hope* (1853) recommends sacramental worship for girls, but roundly condemns every sign of self-government on the part of the "lower orders," e.g. the mechanics' institutes then flourishing. Elizabeth Sewell, sister of the Oxford don who publicly burnt Froude's *Nemesis of Faith*, lived nearly a hundred years in the Isle of Wight. Among other novels she wrote *Margaret Percival* (1847) at her brother's suggestion¹² to present the claims

¹¹ Many Puseyites theoretically subscribed to the Divine Right of Kings. W. B. Mant says of the parson in his *Village Choristers* (1854): "Nor did he forget the martyred Charles, holiest and most blessed" (his sufferings compared to Christ's).

¹² W. Sewell's *Hawkstone* (1845) reached its 6th American ed. (1848). E. Sewell's *Gertrude* (1845) appeared in New York (4th ed. 1868), and *Margaret Percival* in Philadelphia (1847).

of the English Church to young people lured by the fascination of Rome. Margaret is dangerously ignorant of Church history. She conceded the title of Catholic to Romanists. "She talked of the Established Church of England and the Established Church of Scotland in the same terms ; she even spoke once of a person as a Unitarian clergyman." Margaret is told by her uncle, a High Church priest, that she lacks humility and will go to hell if she decides for herself ; she must not even examine the claims of Romanists and other bodies. Here we find the rigidity of Catholicism without its ease : the Church can tell the laity what to think, but cannot tell them that their sins are forgiven. The Tractarian attitude was mainly legalistic. Practices and beliefs must square with the Bible and the Fathers. The old Protestant tradition of quoting texts persisted, giving the High Church movement a certain "Fundamentalist" stiffness, which may have proved advantageous in arguing with Protestants. Pusey, addressing the English Church Union in 1866, admitted : "We had a distinct fear with regard to ritual, and we privately discouraged it, lest the whole movement should be superficial." Keble never wore vestments, nor did he adopt advanced ritual usages. F. A. Paley in his *Church Restorers* (1845) made it clear that it was not aesthetic instinct that prompted sound Churchmen to restore their ancient sanctuaries but the intention to remind modern worshippers of "the great days of the Church." One of Paley's parsons defends ecclesiology by disarming the critics ; he is "no advocate . . . for the captivating splendours of the Romish Church." Matilda Howard is ahead of her generation in *Brampton Rectory* (1849). Mr. Oswald is a "Low-Liberal." Yet even he intends to remove the box pews, scrape off the whitewash and have frequent Communion. Despite these innovations, he is liberal enough to declare that the Catholic Church includes all professing Christians.

During the 'seventies new developments in the Tractarian tradition are reflected in fiction. On the one hand, there is a tendency to be more democratic, to mix with the people, to further change rather than arrest it. On the other hand, the tide runs strongly in the direction of symbolism, with an undercurrent of

mysticism. This new phase of the Oxford Movement was popularly known as "Ritualism." It was condemned as "un-English" as well as Popish by its critics. It was ridiculed by *Punch*. Harassed by the law courts in certain cases, it had its martyrs and established its foothold in the Church, as public opinion became more tolerant¹³. In certain circles it became fashionable. Lady Caroline in *Overdale* by Emma Jane Worboise (1869) points out: "I do not think the *éclat* of going over to Rome is at all in good taste; but I assure you it is quite *ton* now to be *very high*! In the best circles there is just a certain clique that is Low Church, but the people who compose it are nobodies . . . one may as well be a Methodist or Plymouth Brother as one of those dreadful, vulgar-minded Evangelicals. Eustace ought to be 'high'; it is due to his rank that he should be so. It is the natural development of his aesthetic tastes and his Oxford training."

"Anglo-Catholicism" showed signs of expanding social sympathies. As early as 1850 we read in *Alton Locke* of a certain lord whose weakness is "a sort of High Church radicalism." Mrs. Oliphant's *Perpetual Curate* (1864) was supposed "to be given over to floral ornaments and ecclesiastical upholstery." What the public did not know was that Mr. Wentworth was doing work neglected by the respectable Evangelical rector and the young intellectual minister of Salem Chapel. He was getting in touch with the very poor (slums existed even in small, old-fashioned country towns like Carlingford). He drew to S. Roque's a class that would never have thought of going to the parish church. In Mrs. E. L. Linton's *Joshua Davidson* (1872) the hero, a carpenter, declares that the parish priest scarcely exists in London with a few exceptions, "chiefly ritualistic." Joshua is appreciative of their good work, but thinks that their devotion is "to the Church rather than to Christianity at large." He tells a priest that his heart has been captivated and his tastes charmed, but his reason is not mastered. In Mrs. Linton's *Lizzie Lorton* (1866) Margaret Elcome thinks of establishing "a kind of Christian Socialism on a High Church basis." In Disraeli's *Endymion*

¹³ See H. L. Stewart, *A Century of Anglo-Catholicism* (1929). Baring-Gould's *Church Revival* is picturesque, though propaganda.

(1880)* we have the picture of slum life irradiated by Anglo-Catholic influence. Nigel Penruddock's church was always open, his schools never neglected; "there was a perfect choir, a staff of disciplined curates, young and ascetic, while sacred sisters, some of patrician blood, were gliding about . . . his ferocious neighbourhood."¹⁴ Lady Georgina Fullerton's *Mrs. Gerald's Niece* (1869) deals with the beginning of English Church Sisterhoods. Founders were feeling their way in this direction, using Anglican terms for "Mass, Benediction, Confession," etc.¹⁵

Anglo-Catholic asceticism furnished fresh material to the novelist. It was not simply a case of young ladies half-starving in Lent and spending most of their time embroidering vestments and altar-cloths. Sensationalism had its opportunity in dealing with such problems as whether a wife should obey her husband or her priest. Mrs. E. L. Linton takes up this question *Under Which Lord?* (1879). The designing parson is no longer an Evangelical clergyman, as in Mrs. Trollope's *Vicar of Wrexhill* (1837)¹⁶: it is a priest who assumes "quasi-divine powers," a Roman Catholic in all but name. The Rev. Launcelot Lascelles tells Hermione Spence that she should spurn her anti-religious husband Richard, like a viper (he gives agnostic lectures and lets cottages to his supporters). Through the confessional this "well-born, well-bred Priest" dominated "a spiritual harem," which included impressionable and hysterical girls. His reverence, the ascetic, however, marries. Consternation in the "spiritual harem"! Hermione returns to her husband, who dies with radiant face. Their daughter,

¹⁴ Penruddock represented Manning, in his Anglican days. The view of Church life, however, is rather that of 1880 than 1840.

¹⁵ Baroness de Bertouch's *Life of Father Ignatius* is a biography, but reads like a highly-coloured novel, eulogising the founder of the neo-Anglican Benedictines, and tracing the career of the persecuted but ultimately triumphant monk.

¹⁶ Based on the baiting of "velvet Cunningham," vicar of Harrow who was unpopular with anti-Evangelical parishioners (his *Velvet Cushion*, 1814). Trollope's father was a pathetic failure, who boiled at an "Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia." His mother wrote "pot-boilers"—"a very Trollope . . . banging about the world," said Froude. (cp. M. Sadleir, *Trollope, a Commentary*, Constable, 1927.)

Virginia, falls under the absolute domination of the parish¹⁷ priest. She, who never did anything useful in her life, "now cleans those large heavy candlesticks with powder and wash-leather, just as our footman cleans the plate."

The secession of Newman and Manning checked ritual developments for a time. This was reflected in fiction. When Gresley wrote *Bernard Leslie* (Part I) in 1842, he advocated "Catholic worship"; but when Part II appeared in 1859 he was careful to mark the boundary between the Anglican liturgical tradition and Roman Catholic cultus. Keble warned Charlotte Yonge against cultivating the Sacraments "for the sake merely of their beauty and poetry." She evidently took this to heart, for in *The Three Brides* (1876) she was "obliged to silence" several young ladies. "They are, if you understand me, technically reverent; they have startled the whole place with their curtsies and crossings in church, but they gabble up to the very porch; and the familiarity with which they discuss High Mass, as they are pleased to call it!" Here we find the decorous mid-Victorian churchwoman reprimanding the enthusiasm of a new generation.¹⁷ In Henry Kingsley's *Silcote of Silcotes* (1867) young Algernon Silcote has "declared for ritualism." He does not take the advice of Betts (his father-in-law) who advises him to "go into the moderately High Church business; it is the paying one" (imagine how a gentlemanly Tractarian would react to the poor taste of this tradesmanlike hint!). Betts points out that his church is not adapted for a very High ritual. "Architecture has a great deal to do with it; and we are going in for the highest style of architecture procurable for money." What was "absolute" with the Tractarians was "relative" with their pliant successors, who tried to go as far as they could without estranging their influential parishioners, remembering that "what is orthodoxy in a cathedral is 'Puseyism'".

¹⁷ She even objected to surpliced choirs, choral services and *Hymns A. & M.* (G. Battiscombe's *C. M. Yonge*, 1944, p. 49 f, 147). Although Charlotte always viewed herself as "a sort of instrument for popularising Church Views," her ritual opinions did not differ greatly from those of the Evangelical Aunts in Mrs. Oliphant's *Perpetual Curate*, who were so distressed by their nephew's vagaries in the chancel.

in a church." Silcote, however, was of the latest and most aggressive school of ritualism. "He preached in his surplice the first Sunday I was away," said his prudent father-in-law. He soon emptied his church and was prosecuted by the churchwardens for lighting seven candles on the Communion table before dark. He was typical of a new race of High Churchmen who felt that they had much to learn from the devotional practices of modern continental Catholicism.

In 1881 there appeared "the nearest approach in English to a religious novel of universal significance" (Paul Elmer More, *Shelburne Essays*, vol. iii, 236). This was *John Inglesant*, written between 1866 and 1876 by John Henry Shorthouse, a Birmingham Quaker who joined the English Church in 1861. "Few have deduced English Churchmanship from my book," he confessed. The theme of this "Philosophical Romance" is a young man's quest for religion in the time of Charles I. Cavaliers and Anglicans are idealised and there is an idyllic picture of the semi-ascetic community at Little Gidding. The hero is a type that the old-fashioned Englishman and even the Tractarians would not have appreciated. He is true to the National Church in a sense, but he has been educated by the Jesuits and works with them as a secret agent. These are his instructions: "Attach yourself wholly to the King and the Church party . . . you are not placed here to reason (as the sectaries and precisians do), but to obey." In spite of his sympathy for this "concealed Papist," Shorthouse himself declared that the Papal system "never was anything but a propagandist machine for extracting forced obedience and alms from an ignorant, a deceived, and a terrified world." *John Inglesant*, deeply mystical and imaginative, despite emphasis on authority and ceremony, is aware of the dangers of bigotry and superstition; he is conscious also of the necessity of intuitive religion to progress and culture. "Broad Church Sacramentarianism" is a definition that seems to cover the religion that Shorthouse sought to delineate—an amalgam of Catholic theology and ritual, supernaturalism, Platonism, and Quaker mysticism. There was also a dash of aestheticism that made its appeal in the 'eighties. The "gentleman-saint" ideal that appealed to the Trac-

arians was set in an ornate frame. Molinos the Quietist is fastidiously dressed before setting forth to his trial. When Shorthouse suggested publishing the book in a cheap edition, his wife replied—"Oh ! no, Henry, remember *John Inglesant* was *always well-dressed*." So the volume appeared in vellum with gold edges.¹⁸

The luxuriant, opulent style of Shorthouse was in marked contrast to the clear-cut wooden outline of the typical Tractarian novelist ; instead of hard propaganda, with scholastic foot-notes, there was the spiritual beauty of a philosophical romance. In spite of the sentimental attraction of 17th century Anglicanism, Shorthouse looked through the oriel window of imagination upon the spacious prospect of the Catholic Church on the Continent. In his mind, symbolism escaped from formal limitations and found room for speculation. Priesthood was recognised as an ancient and universal office of mediation, yet man has freedom to experience direct communion with God. *John Inglesant* undoubtedly prepared Church and people for the more liberal Anglo-Catholicism that first found expression in *Lux Mundi* (1889).

ANDREW L. DRUMMOND.

¹⁸ Montgomery, "Some Personal Recollections of Mr. Shorthouse" in *Life of J.H.S.*, vol. i, 406, 1905. The fact that 80,000 copies of *John Inglesant* were sold within 20 years indicates public interest in a religious book not "popular" in appeal.

ART. IV.—F. D. MAURICE: A RETROSPECT.

SWINBURNE suggested, in a celebrated preface, that there is a darkness which is due to absence of light, and another kind of darkness attributable to an excess of light, and that only in the second sense could Browning be called obscure. F. D. Maurice, too, comes within this second category.

Every student of Maurice's writings can endorse Charles Kingsley's verdict:

"Much has been said of the obscurity of Maurice's style. It is a question whether any great thinker will be anything but obscure at times, simply because he is possessed by conceptions beyond his powers of expression. But the conceptions may be clear enough; and it may be worth the wise man's while to search for them under the imperfect words. Only thus—to take an illustrious instance—has St. Paul, often the most obscure of writers, become luminous to students; and there are those who will hold that St. Paul is by no means understood yet; and that the Calvinistic system which has been built upon his Epistles, has been built up by ignoring the greater part of them, and a misunderstanding of the remainder; yet for all that, no Christian man will lightly shut up St. Paul as too obscure for use. Really, when one considers what worthless verbiage men have ere now taken, and do still take, infinite pains to make themselves fancy that they understand, one is tempted to impatience when men confess that they will not take the trouble of trying to understand Maurice."

The passage just quoted, by its mention of Calvinism, prompts the query: How did Maurice regard Calvinism? Subjoined is a quotation from his *Kingdom of Christ*:

"The idea of a divine Will, going before all acts of the human will, the primary source of all that is in eternity,

and all that becomes in time, to which everything is meant to be in subjection, which alone can bring that which has rebelled into subjection, to which every creature must attribute all the notions to good which he finds within him, the primary direction of his thoughts, the power of perseverance; this is the ideal of Calvinism, and it is the idea which is implied in all the prayers of our Litany, which is formally set forth in the words of our Articles."

Maurice's same book, the *Kingdom of Christ*, makes it clear that the Articles have a Catholic foundation, repudiate the Calvinistic *system* (which makes the Fall of Man the centre of divinity) and are sharply contrasted with Knox's system as set up in Scotland. Charles Kingsley said that Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ* is

"the ablest apology for the Catholic Faith which England has seen for more than two hundred years . . . for it has made the Catholic Faith look living, rational, practical and practicable to hundreds who could rest neither in modified Puritanism nor modified Romanism and still less in scepticism, however earnest."

This book embodies the outcome of a ten years' mental struggle. It abides to-day as a record of soul-building not less arresting to the psychologist than the *apologiae* of the brothers Newman, J. A. Froude, and Blanco White. Maurice's apprehension of God was intuitional. He would not see design in Nature, infer a *Summum Pulchrum*, deify the human self, accept an authoritative revelation: like the Hebrew prophet, Maurice *saw* the Lord, sitting on his throne. Possessed of, and hourly living in, this Presence, he deduced from it his view of nature, of humanity, of life. With Augustine, he beheld a City of the World, a welter of individualism, inequality, competition, warfare, selfishness: beheld, too, a City of God, a universal spiritual society attested in old experience, latent yet discernible in mankind to-day. Behind the pageant of society, the rise and fall of nations, the jar of creeds, the tangle of contemporary politics, he saw the ever-advancing onset of spiritual energies, drawing men together by a comity of righteousness,

wherein all bear others' burdens, finding each his own satisfaction in the satisfaction of all. The constitution of this society is monarchic: it is not a mystical abstraction, but a visible kingdom, ruled by an ever-present King. He saw it in the Catholic Church, its gate of baptism, its Eucharistic guarantee, its witnessing Bible, its consummation in the Athanasian Trinity; found finally—a crowning solecism and surprise to his admirer, John Stuart Mill—in the English Church a rock on which, after much tossing to and fro, he felt that he could rest.

Maurice took the greatest care to inform the world of his convictions. He was a churchman in the fullest sense of the word.

“I have contended,” he wrote in his *Kingdom of Christ* (early editions), “that a Bible without a Church is inconceivable, that the appointed ministers of the Church are the appointed instruments for guiding men into the knowledge of the Bible; that the notion of private judgement is a false notion; that inspiration belongs to the Church, and not merely to the writers of the Bible; that the miracles of the New Testament were the introduction to a new dispensation, and were not merely a set of strange acts belonging to a particular time; lastly, that the Gospel narratives must be received as part of the necessary furniture of the Church.”

He disliked the term, “Protestant Church.” “A church,” he writes, “united in a profession of a certain doctrine, though it be the true evangelic doctrine, is one of which I cannot, without difficulty, form to myself the notion; for the evangelic doctrine seems to me to speak of a Kingdom which is one and universal.”

Again: “As I maintain, of course, the necessity of a real centre, and affirm the doctrine of a visible centre to be a monstrous, practical heresy, the evil effects of which upon the order and unity of the Church all ecclesiastical history is manifesting, I find Protestantism to contain a great positive witness needful for the support of Catholicism. . . I then proceed to consider the position of the English

Church, as enabling us, if we will, to unite ourselves with any part of the Eastern or Western Church which will meet us on the ground of our Catholic institutions provided it recognizes the true Centre of Unity: as enabling us, on the other hand, to unite with any Protestants on the ground of our recognition of that true Centre, provided they do not refuse to adopt the Catholic institutions which connect us with that Centre and with each other."

By Catholic institutions he meant scriptures, creeds, sacraments, ministerial orders, and liturgy.

In 1840 he wrote: "I have been led by a strange, unwonted experience to feel that Christianity is the highest philosophy, and that Christianity is a mere phrase or name WITHOUT A CHURCH."

Maurice ridiculed Macaulay's facile description of the English Church as a compromise:

"If," he says, "we might admit the theory of the most popular historian of the nineteenth century (Macaulay), and hold that the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry VIII, constructed a system of compromise between the Catholicism and Protestantism of his generation, leaving the feeble and ridiculous arrangement as a trust for all subsequent archbishops and monarchs to defend, we might perhaps be prepared with a solution of the difficulties which belong to the reign of the last Tudor. But since that doctrine, had it appeared under less distinguished patronage, would certainly have been regarded as the extravagant conceit of some pedantic Anglican divine—attaching an importance to the notions and doings of archbishops which never yet belonged to them, and giving to Cranmer especially a weight which those who think far better of him than the noble historian does, have never assigned to his fair abilities and rather subservient character—we cannot be excused from seeking some other interpretation of the acts and triumphs of Queen Elizabeth than the notion that she felt herself pledged to the defence of an ecclesiastical system which had not courage to ally itself with the thorough

Reformers of Knox's type, nor with the bold reactionaries of the Council of Trent. A reign so vigorous and productive must, one would think, have been maintaining some other principle, have been quickened by some other inspiration, than this."

Maurice shows that this principle was neither Calvinistic nor Jesuitical, but NATIONAL.

"Elizabeth *did* know that she was an English Queen. That position, without reference to dogmas, she was determined to maintain. She became the defender of the great *national* principle which Calvinism and Jesuitry each ignored or scouted, though both Calvinists and Romanists in their own countries—the Colignys of France and the Howards of Effingham—bowed to it, and confessed it as godly. It could not be a substitute for principles which concerned a universal church and the whole condition of humanity; it might preserve one from being destructive of the Church, both of humanity."

Here is Maurice's view of *episcopacy*:

"Without the episcopacy the grand truth of Christ's own episcopacy is lost sight of and becomes a mere dream; comprehension and universality cease to be constituents of the Church, and, as a consequence, Christianity becomes a notion or a doctrine instead of a Kingdom. With these internal reasons for episcopacy, the external facts and authority in support of it will assume quite a new weight and character."

Again: "It is to the divine constitution of the Church that I have always turned, especially as a deliverance from systems. The Church . . . is represented in Scripture as a Kingdom. When we treat it as a theory instead of a Kingdom we dishonour it and destroy the life. On this ground I have always loved episcopacy as expressing the fatherly and Catholic character of the Church, and have maintained that when it is lost the Church of necessity becomes hard, narrow, formal."

Episcopacy, Maurice always insisted, witnessed to something besides *individual* association: hence the purely Protestant systems had no use for it. True Christianity, contends Maurice:

- (1) Accounts for the facts that we know.
- (2) Satisfies the need that we feel.
- (3) Leads up to the truth that we desire.

The Trinity is Love forming, saving, indwelling: Love in essence, in manifestation, in act.

"First," he says, "we accept the fact of the Incarnation, because we feel that it is impossible to know the Absolute and Invisible God as man needs to know Him, and craves to know Him, without an Incarnation.

"Secondly, we receive the fact of an Incarnation, not perceiving how we can recognize a perfect Son of God and Son of Man, such as man needs to know and craves for, unless He were, in all points, tempted as we are.

"Thirdly, we receive the fact of an Incarnation, because we ask of God a redemption, not for a few persons, from certain evil tendencies, but for humanity, from all the plagues by which it is tormented.

"The goodness which can stoop most, which becomes, in the largest sense, grace—the truth which can speak to the inmost heart of the dumbest human creature—is that which has for us the sweet stamp of divinity."

Maurice and Labour. Stopford Brooke, in a funeral elegy (1872), asserts that Maurice's title to fame is that his work and influence kept the whole of the English Labour Movement in touch with God. This is in refreshing contrast to parallel Continental movements. It disposes of an ungenerous estimate in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* which speaks of Maurice's "abortive attempts" to co-operate with working men. The Lambeth Resolutions on Labour problems reveal the influence of Maurice, and emphasize the historical inaccuracy of several widely trumpeted surveys of the nineteenth century's religious life. A belated tribute to Maurice is that his books on *The Conscience*, and *Social Morality* have had a place on the list

for the Cambridge Theological Tripos. Bishop Westcott's *Historic Faith* describes eternal life as supra-temporal, not omni-temporal. To concede this is to admit Maurice's position in his *Theological Essays* (1853), then accounted heterodox. Yet in popular accounts of Maurice's teaching, his "historic denial" of eternal punishment is stressed. His denial, of course, had to do with the *false* meaning of the word "eternal" introduced by Locke: Maurice's "assertion" would be better than "denial." In mid-Victorian times the misconception of eternity as extended time was widespread. It vitiates the argument in Newman's *Grammar of Assent*, since this popular and untrue meaning is admitted in a footnote. We append one quotation, sufficiently fatuous, from another source:

The Preacher's Lantern (published 1872, by Hodder & Stoughton): "Ambiguous as (Maurice's) ideas were, no one can doubt who finds from his theological essays how strangely he dissociates the meaning of eternity from duration, so that he actually supposes that eternity may end. . ." The writer pathetically remarks in the same article: "He never seemed to comprehend the Nonconformist standpoint, and, for so large-hearted a man, had a strange idolatry for that Church of Englandism which assuredly behaved with sufficient ingratitude to him."

An unaccountable neglect of F. D. Maurice is seen in descriptions of Samuel Butler's *Life* (1835-1902). These affirm that from Chambers's *Vestiges of Creation* (1844) to *Essays and Reviews* (1860) no major theological work appeared. This ignores Maurice's *Theological Essays* (1853) and his historic controversy with Mansel (1858) on our knowledge of God—which latter has been described as the most fruitful of all nineteenth century controversies.

It would be easy to quote contemporary misconceptions. In Beeton's *Dictionary of Universal Biography* (Ward Lock, 1870), it is said: "(Maurice's) orthodoxy on many doctrinal points has been brought into question, but by every section of the clergy his moral and intellectual work has been freely

admitted." Nothing distressed Maurice more than charges of Universalism. Even in Blunt's *Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology* (1870, Rivington, p. 779), Maurice is called the most influential among divines maintaining this opinion. A careful reading of his writings and especially, the *Life and Letters* (Macmillan, 1884) reveals that Universalism clashes with his deepest convictions. (See the letter in *Life and Letters of F. D. Maurice*, pp. 44-45, and Maurice's reply.)

That Maurice, steeped in dogma and orthodoxy, should be classed as a Broad Churchman is astonishing. Maurice always complained of the narrowness of the Broad Church. He recognized Stanley's vivid historic sense, but would have agreed with R. W. Church, who says of Stanley that, while he never understood dogmatic theology, he understood the great Greek virtues—justice, courage, temperance, fortitude—and their connection with the Christian type of character.

Nothing illustrates better the cleavage between Maurice and Arnold of Rugby than this letter from Maurice:

"You remember probably a saying of Dr. Arnold's that the early church was utterly wrong and foolish in making the nature of God, which is so far out of our reach, the ground of its belief and confession; whereas some doctrine directly concerning our own human life ought to be the unifying bond. A more plausible statement was never made, nor, I think, one directly at variance with experience, reason and Scripture.

"*Experience* shows us that confused and partial notions about God have been at the root of all divisions, superstitions, plagues of the world. Our highest human reason asks for the knowledge of God as the ground of itself—as that which belong to us as individuals. *Scripture* is either the gradual unveiling of God, or it is nothing.

"On the other hand, all experience testifies that what Dr. Arnold would call the religious truths that concern our souls are apprehended by us as *individuals* (e.g., our personal evil, our need of a justifier, the fact of our justification) and

that whenever they are made the ground of *fellowship* they lose their meaning and acquire a new and even false character. Reason says that what refers to each man (as *each*) cannot be the foundation for humanity to rest upon; Scripture is addressed to nations, to Churches, to men.

"Here, then, is my justification of the old Church, or rather of that which the history of the Church shows not to have been its work at all, but the necessity of its existence. Because it was for man, and had a Gospel coming from God to man, its creeds were declarations of His nature; they could be nothing else.

"Now the key to the life of Athanasius . . . is this. He clearly saw that all idolatry lurked in Arianism; that it was a distinct return to creature-worship; that it was the substitution of a pseudo-philosophical dogma for a LIVING GOD; that it destroyed all basis for union among men. Therefore it was worth while to incur all the misery of seeming to fight for a name and a letter; it was worth while to be banished from his see, to be hated by five-sixths of the Church, to be the enemy of emperors, to be an outcast among men. He was, I do believe, in the truest, simplest sense of the words, one of the most CATHOLIC among men, he would have quarrelled with you about nothing but that which he believed would rob mankind of its greatest treasure."

Maurice takes his place as a Liberal Catholic in the honoured company of Lacordaire, Le Maistre, Lamennais and Montalembert. His contribution to English theology is the idea of collectivism. The Puritan ideal had had its day. It was expressed in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Bunyan's "moral aim," says S. R. Gardiner, "lay in the preservation of a few choice souls from the perils and temptations of a society wholly given up to evil . . . The outer world was treated as a mere embarrassment to the pursuit of spiritual perfection."

Maurice was the exponent of the essentially social nature of Christianity. The teaching of Maurice has combined with

that of the Oxford Movement. This union, with the advance of the wave of Collectivist feeling and ideas, has undermined that conception of religion as an affair solely between the Individual and his God, with the mediating agency of a self-interpreting Book. This selfish, solitary, individualizing creed has been in the main the popular religion of Puritan England. The purely Protestant presentation of Christianity as the Religion of A Book and of the plain man and his Bible as the two essential factors of it, is a presentation which is passing out of the minds of real thinkers, whatever other explanation of the religious problem they may arrive at.

Maurice challenges comparison with Joseph Butler, the most illustrious convert from Nonconformity to the Church of England. Of Maurice it has been said: "There is probably no writer of the last century to whom the English Church owes a deeper debt of gratitude . . . probably he did more to stop the stream of converts to Romanism which followed the secession of Newman than any other individual, by teaching English Churchmen to think out the reasonableness of their position."

Even Thomas Carlyle was constrained to utter this churlish compliment: "By few men has the thing called Church of England been better served."

A. W. BALLARD.

ART. V.—THE WAR.

THERE is a well-known proverb—Don't count your chickens before they are hatched. It would be well if some of our journalists and politicians would remember it. There is a form of oratory which to a sensitive mind is offensive—it begins by asserting that victory is certain. Nothing is certain. We have no doubt good grounds for hoping for victory; the devout man prays for it; but the wise man knows that nothing is certain in war, and the boast sounds to him presumptuous and arrogant. And having made this boast, our politician or our journalist proceeds to describe the wonderful world he is creating. He quite forgets that his predecessor twenty-five years ago did much the same thing, and that his wonderful world did not turn out as he expected. We do not know when the war will end or how it will end, or what we shall find the world of the future like, and we should approach the very complicated problems which lie before us in a more humble spirit.

There are other characteristics of modern oratory which do not exhibit great wisdom. Our journalist likes to describe the terrible things we are going to inflict upon Germany. We would think he was going to exterminate the whole people. Is that wise? We would desire that the sane elements in the country should be prepared to revolt against Nazi rule, and save us from a war of extermination; but all this ferocious oratory just plays into the hands of Dr. Goebbels, who has abundant evidence to show the Germans that peace means extermination and that therefore the only policy is to fight to the end. The right way to approach Germany is to say that we are fighting for its liberation. We are fighting for the liberation of Germany as much as for that of Italy or Greece or France—we are fighting for its liberation from two great evils: Prussianism and Nazism. The Prussian mentality is

very different to the old-fashioned German outlook, and for the last hundred years it has been spreading through Germany. I do not think it has gone very deep everywhere, and I believe that there are many who would like to be saved from it. I was in a town on the Rhine a few years before the war on May 1st, when the official Nazi celebrations took place, and I have seldom attended public celebrations which had less life in them.

There is a third characteristic of our journalists that I do not like—exaggeration, especially exaggeration of what is going to happen. I constantly read of the great and decisive battle which is going to be fought, but somehow does not come off. I read of advances which do not take place. It would be better if these writers confined themselves to sober fact and learnt not to exaggerate.

And they would do well if they were not so fond of suppressing facts which they think unpleasant. A conspicuous case is that of Greece. We know now that the correspondents in Greece had warned us of the character of the guerrilla bands, but nothing of this had been told us. We were allowed to think that they were brave and whole-hearted patriots, inspired by lofty democratic ideas. If there was a Communist element, it only meant that they added to the patriotism sympathy with the workers of the world. All this was swallowed wholesale by the Labour leaders of the country, who are not the wisest or most intelligent of politicians, and it required all the weight of the Prime Minister to make people realize the truth. But we must pass to the progress of the war.

THE WESTERN FRONT.

The decisive event on the Western Front was the great counter-attack of Rundstedt. It is difficult to know the extent of the real danger. We are told that it might have succeeded. Certainly it might if there had not been a General capable of meeting it, and troops who in a tight corner would stand up to the enemy. This we know they did. The American troops

fought well, and some of the best British regiments were thrown in at the decisive point. No doubt if our men had run away the attacks might have succeeded, but that does not justify it. It was exactly what a German General would do under the circumstances, and exactly what he ought not to have done. It has a very remarkable analogy to the break-through to Amiens in the last war, and the counter-attack to Avranches in Normandy, and anyone who remembered these incidents would, when he heard of this attack, hope, with some trepidation, that this meant the beginning of the end. Certainly Rundstedt succeeded in postponing our offensive, but he lost 220,000 men, of whom some 100,000 were taken prisoners, and five panzer divisions were broken up. He had destroyed the troops he might use to meet the offensive he was expecting, and when the great attack came in the East he had not much that he could send to strengthen the defence.

Our offensive was necessarily delayed by Rundstedt's attack. No doubt there was destruction of munitions and supplies, and time was needed to replace them, but in due time it started and has, up to the time of writing, been completely successful. Cologne has been taken. With the exception of one or two bridge-heads which are now being dealt with, the whole West bank of the Rhine from Nijmegen to Cologne is held by the Allies. We are approaching Bonn. The U.S. Third Army is within three miles of Coblenz. We may hope that all the country to the West of the Rhine may shortly be cleared. And then the Rhine has to be crossed.

The attack began in the North, on the left flank, where the Canadian Army advanced along the Rhine, and a little to the South the British Second Army. The river was flooded, the country difficult, and the opposition by German parachute troops has been determined and fanatical, and the last bridge-head is being defended with the same pertinacity. The Americans, it appears, have had less opposition. We even hear of empty trenches and of something very like a rout.

The American Ninth Army took the large industrial towns

of Crefeld and Munich Gladberg and advanced to Dusseldorf with very little opposition. The First Army has taken Cologne. The Third Army crossed the Saar, occupied Trier, and then the mechanized division advanced some 60 miles in as many hours, bewildering the enemy by their rapid advance, captured a General and reached the Rhine near Coblenz. The Seventh Army is advancing on the farther side of the Moselle. It is the aim of General Eisenhower to destroy the German armies to the West of the Rhine.

THE EASTERN FRONT.

More spectacular is the Russian advance on the Eastern Front. The whole of Poland has been cleared of Germans, and seven armies are advancing into the Reich. In the extreme North the Army which was until his death commanded by Field Marshal Chernyakovsky is advancing into East Prussia, and besieging Koenigsberg. The whole of East Prussia has been cut off from any land communication with Germany. To the South-West Field Marshal Rokossovsky has advanced to the Baltic and has cut off the whole of the Dantzig area and the Polish corridor in the same way from any communication with the Reich. Further South Field Marshal Zukow is leading the main attack against Berlin. Naturally here is the largest amount of opposition, and the crossing of the Oder would be strongly contested. For a time he strengthened his position along the East side of that river, while two flank attacks have been organized. To the North on his right flank an army advanced against Stettin. It has reached the Baltic and thus strengthened the position of Rokossovsky and is now engaged in an attack on Stettin. On his left flank Field Marshal Koniev has taken advantage of the withdrawal of troops for the defence of Berlin to make the crossing of the Oder in force. He has isolated Breslau and is now advancing towards Berlin from the South. He has joined up with Zukow, and all the preparations are being made for surrounding and attacking Berlin. Further South there are three armies advancing through Czecho-

Slovakia and Hungary (where Buda Pest has fallen) towards Vienna. That is the position at the time of writing.

GREECE.

The fighting on other fronts in Europe may be passed over, but there are certain episodes which might have had serious consequences if they had not been dealt with. The first is Greece. Here we have saved that country from a great disaster. Guerrilla troops are often brave and patriotic defenders of their country, but they have always had a tendency to degenerate. They are undisciplined. They have been collected often from the least law-abiding section of the people. In Greece the tradition of bandits has certainly not died out. It appears that these guerrillas began to find it less dangerous to prey on their fellow-countrymen than on the enemy. They called themselves communists—a name which will excuse wholesale robbery. If all wealth ought to be shared, it is obviously the duty of a good citizen to relieve the wealthier of the goods they illegitimately enjoy. Moreover, the name imposes on the Left Wing politicians throughout the world. How far in Greece the Germans helped to organize the revolt seems uncertain. There were Germans fighting in their ranks, and they had German equipment. That they may have captured.

At any rate, when our troops were advancing North to attack the enemy they met Greek bands marching South to attack their fellow-countrymen. These hoped to seize Athens before a regular army had been formed, and to install themselves as the Government of the country. They would probably have succeeded, but for the presence of our troops, who were called on to fight against people they wished to help in the most uncomfortable form of warfare. Snipers appear to have established themselves in Athens, and anyone walking in the streets was liable to be shot at from quite unexpected quarters.

Our troops, after difficult fighting, defeated the armed menace, and public confidence was restored by the appointment

of Damascenos, the Metropolitan of Athens, as Regent. His bold and wise actions during the German occupation had won for him the confidence of the people. We need not follow the details of the negotiations. The rebels were treated with leniency; only those guilty of actual crimes were to be punished. The great body have given up their arms, and a regular National army is being created.

The reception of the Prime Minister and Mr. Eden in Greece shows that the great mass of the people have recognized that the bold policy of Mr. Churchill and the protection of our troops had saved the country from disaster. The students of Thucydides who remember the story of *στάσις* in Corcyra will be impressed by the evidence afforded of the continuity of national characteristics.

THE BALKANS

We are not entirely happy at the trend of events in the Balkans. The advent of the Russian army has brought about the defeat of the Germans and the liberation of these countries from their rule, but has also introduced this element of Communism which seems to be a specious disguise under which military adventurers may make an effort to become dictators.

Order has however been brought into Yugoslavia. Field Marshal Tito, who had created a formidable army and carried on a successful war against the Germans, has accepted constitutional order. After much negotiation a Regency consisting of a Serb, a Croat and a Slovene has been appointed. A more or less representative Government is being established in Belgrade, and the Army of Liberation is being transformed into the regular army of the country. This is the official news and it sounds satisfactory, but from private sources we hear that Tito's tyranny is worse than that of the Germans and that those who are opposed to his rule think it suicidal to go back to the country.

A visit from Field Marshal Alexander has been the opportunity for organizing co-operation between the Yugoslav Army and our own Army in Italy. Although a considerable part of

Jugoslavia has been freed there are still German troops there, and the delay of any advance in Italy has been a cause of great disappointment. We may hope that there will be some reinforcement to our Italian army, and some assistance to the Yugoslav troops, and that the suggested advance, which will mean that the two armies will unite at the head of the Adriatic, and help in the invasion of Germany, will be accomplished.

We do not think that in these negotiations King Peter has been well treated. We remember that it was his bold action which prevented Jugoslavia becoming an ally of Germany. We remember that it was General Michaelovitch who first organized opposition to the German forces, and carried on the war against them as long as it was possible. We cannot help seeing in Marshal Tito the jealousy of Croats against Serbs, and we hope that when a constituent Assembly is formed these injustices will be corrected.

Bulgaria has once more showed itself the least civilized of the Balkan peoples. The execution of the three Regents who had governed the country with a considerable measure of success during the German occupation was a brutal act inspired by partisan animosity. With 250,000 Germans on the Danube, any opposition was impossible. King Boris, before he was murdered by Hitler, and the Regents who succeeded him had been able to preserve the country from being spoiled and had evaded sending an army to fight against Russia. Those who attacked and condemned them belonged, we are told, to the extreme Right or Left—that is, they were military and political adventurers who cleared the way for their own advancement by bringing quite unconfirmed charges against all the more respectable politicians in the country and by their judicial murder. The result seems to be political chaos.

Meantime there is one unfortunate element in the Bulgarian position that has been cleared away. For many years there has been a schism between the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople and the Bulgarian Church. It goes back to the time when the Bulgarians revolted from the political rule of Turkey. For at that time the Bulgarian Church had been

governed by Greek ecclesiastics sent from the Phanar at Constantinople. When the country asserted its political freedom it also claimed and established ecclesiastical autonomy and the result was the schism.

We do not know the history of what has happened or the details of the negotiations, but much credit is due to the Orthodox Patriarch and the Metropolitan Stepan for bringing to an end this schism.

RUSSIA AND POLAND.

The relations of Russia to Poland reveal differences of a serious character between the ideals of Russia and her allies which require all the resources of diplomacy to adjust and are perhaps exaggerated by the Polish mentality.

The differences arise from two causes: the one is that Russia fails to recognize the ideals of the Atlantic Charter, the other the difference between the political ideals of the Soviet and those of the Western States.

The Soviet One-Party State calls itself a democracy but really is a hard tyranny—the tyranny of a party, which generally becomes an autocracy. Those who oppose the one party have no rights. The Western ideal is based on the rights of every individual citizen, secured by representative government and perhaps still more by the assurance that each person will have a fair trial. It is one of the curious facts of political history that the Trades Unions of this country seem enamoured of the Russian system, under which, if it had prevailed among us, they would probably have ceased to exist.

We must go back to the beginning of the war. Russia had a treaty with Poland, under which they should have protected them against Germany. They failed to fulfil their obligations and the result was the war. If Russia had been ready to help Poland Hitler would not have invaded that country, and Russia would never have suffered the devastating attacks of Germany. Instead, they took advantage of Germany's occupation with Poland to carry out their own schemes. They seized the Eastern

part of that country while Germany seized the Western part. They attacked and seized the three Baltic States, and they engaged in a war with Finland, in which, although ultimately victorious, they certainly did not add to the reputation of their armies.

The occupation of Poland and the Baltic States was brutal; a large part of the population was deported to Siberia. The number from Estonia, a very small country, was 60,000. Large numbers were killed. The churches in Estonia and Latvia were deprived of all their property and the Soviet system was introduced. Then came the German invasion. The Germans, if they had had any wisdom, would have attempted to show themselves more humane than the Russians, but such an idea would never enter the German mind. The Poles, especially the Polish Jews, were treated with singular brutality, and at least 100,000 were murdered. Now the Russians are back again, and we have very much the same story from both Poland and the Baltic States.

There are two questions at issue in the case of Poland—the Eastern frontier and constitutional freedom. On the basis of population, the Russians have strong claims to an extension of their frontier, and if adequate compensation comes elsewhere the case of the Poles is not strong. On the other hand, as regards constitutional freedom, it is different. That is something the Russians do not understand. The Prime Minister and Mr. Eden have told us that they do not like the Lublin Committee, which Russia recognizes as the provisional Government of Poland. Here is an account of what is happening:

“The only political party genuinely represented in the Lublin Committee is the Communist party . . . Communists are said on good authority not to represent more than one or one-and-a-half per cent. of the Polish people. The Lublin Committee, therefore, means Government by a minority, or in other words, a dictatorship. Moreover, the minority rule has no right to the name of ‘Government’ for it is not even free to govern. As the Russian armies have advanced through Poland, in their wake has

come the Soviet "secret political police or N.K.V.D. (formerly the O.G.P.U.) with both its Military and Civil Sections, and carrying with it the same power that it exercises in Soviet Russia

"In Poland, as officers and men of the Underground or Home Army have come out to help the Russians to drive out the Germans, the N.K.V.D. have disarmed them, giving them the choice of joining the Lublin Committee's army, or of being deported to forced labour in the U.S.S.R. The N.K.V.D. have also deported large numbers of every section of the community, selecting the deportees from among those public-spirited individuals who, as in every democratic country, best serve the interests of the people."

We have just the same story quite independently from Estonia:

"The greatest hardship however is caused by the ruthless activities of the N.K.V.D. (formerly called O.G.P.U.), which has established its rule of terror in the rear of the Red Army. Raids on private homes are a daily occurrence, and during the search for incriminating documents valuables are discovered as well. The prisons are overcrowded, and big transports of prisoners are again being sent in regular intervals to the interior of the U.S.S.R."

We might give much more illustration of the situation, but this will suffice. It makes it clear how great is the difference between the Soviet and the Western democracies.

We had the same difficulty in the last war. The treatment of the Jews by the Tsarist government caused us many misgivings, but as our Foreign Office said, we could not interfere with the internal affairs of an Ally. Perhaps the fate of that government might be a warning to the Soviet and might suggest that even they might have to pay the penalty. They have done it once in this war.

We are told that Stalin is sensitive to British public opinion. We do not know whether that is true or not, but it is a mistake to conceal these evils. The policy of Russia with

regard to religion has apparently changed. Perhaps they may learn in time that the existence of a secret police with arbitrary powers is a sign not of civilization, but of barbarism, and that the inhabitants of countries which happen to be in the way of Russia's aggressions have the rights of humanity. It is clear that the Soviet system of Government can make no claim to be either democratic or civilized.

UNDERGROUND WARFARE.

We have made great advances in both East and West, and the Prime Minister's confident speech seems justified. "One good strong heave all together will end the war in Europe, beat down tyranny and open the path to peace and the return to the homeland." But we are told of another danger: the War will not come to an end, it will only peter out. There will be a long period of guerrilla warfare, and the Nazi party will go underground, and carry on their work

We are told that the preparation for this has been entrusted to Himmler, whose purpose is to organize the Nazi underground both at home and abroad. He is said to be securing a strong financial basis, which means probably investing large sums abroad. He is organizing sabotage—terrorist gangs. The German General Staff are frantically working out operational plans for an underground army whose headquarters will be at Munich. A commander-in-chief and a staff has been appointed, and units—picked Nazi groups—are being trained for the work. An elaborate network of secret arsenals is being created.

There is being organized also a tremendous underground apparatus for Nazi propaganda. There are many thousand secret nuclei of the party. They are to form a sixth column consisting of young fanatical Nazis, trained in Adolf Hitler's schools, and this underground organization will be the skeleton of the strong army which will be needed in twenty years' time.

To camouflage this movement young Nazis are being placed in concentration camps and pose as anti-Nazis. There are faked Gestapo lists which will fall into the hands of the Allies,

containing the names of "political undesirables." Some are reported to have committed suicide, who then assume new names and addresses, and are provided with faked documents. Some will find their way abroad protected by false passports.

These men will greet the Allies in a friendly way, will denounce Hitler, will condemn National Socialism, and will be very difficult to detect. Many who were communists in Republican Germany became National Socialists because both ideologies are equally suitable for those who are enemies of Society. It is obvious that all these devices will make the work of those who occupy Germany very difficult. We know how thorough and methodical Germans are. There is no reason to doubt that they will carry on a systematic and organized policy of deception. But if all the wolves dress like lambs it will be very difficult to treat the lambs as we should like. Just as the methods of German resistance compel us to inflict a much more material injury on Germany than we wish, so these proposed methods of carrying on the struggle will compel us to be much more oppressive in our occupations of the country than we should wish. Nor shall we desire to admit any Germans, however plausible they may appear, into our own country.

THE FAR EAST.

It is only necessary to refer shortly to the war with Japan, which seems to be progressing much better than was expected. In Burmah it looks as if Mandalay would be soon taken and the whole country cleared of the enemy. The Americans are rapidly retaking the Philippines. A large fleet is being prepared for the attack on Singapore and Japan. The road to China has been opened.

But we hear sad accounts of the suffering and starvation in the Dutch East Indies. It is singular how nations like Japan and Germany, which are so ambitious of Empire, seem determined to show themselves quite unfit either to attain or to hold imperial power. They seem to think that force and brutality are the only weapons necessary. They have no conception that

it is also necessary to make their subjects be content with or even desire their rule. All experience shows that force is not the sole need of the ruler or the only influence in human affairs.

March 28:

THE CROSSING OF THE RHINE.

"And then there is the Rhine to be crossed." Those words represent the stage which our narrative had reached. The Rhine has now been crossed more expeditiously, more easily and with fewer losses than we could hope for. The success of the operations has been as decisive as unexpected.

For the explanation we must go back first of all to the break-through of Rundstedt. We have already pointed out how that failure of the Germans weakened their position. It may have postponed our expected attack, but the losses sustained deprived them of the power of opposing it. Then came the fighting West of the Rhine. The Germans with their backs to that river resolutely opposed our advance, and in doing so suffered great losses. It is not possible for the ordinary citizen to know how great they were because he does not know what period of fighting is included in the numbers given, but it was not less than 250,000 men, a formidable number. We are told that Hitler himself commanded this stubborn stand, and again we have to thank him for his assistance. The Rhine is a formidable barrier. I think a wise commander would have withdrawn his troops as rapidly as possible without fighting, and established a really formidable defence barrier on the East bank. He was no longer able to do this.

The story of the crossing begins with a piece of good fortune. Troops of the American First Army advancing South from Cologne and Bonn found at Remagen a bridge still intact. They were able at once to seize it, to prevent any damage being done to it, and destroy its defenders. Those who escaped were executed by the Germans. At once infantry and tanks were able to cross. There was apparently no strong opposition. A

bridgehead was quickly established, and has been steadily enlarged. The great automobile road from Frankfort to the Ruhr was crossed, and at the time we are writing an Eastern offensive had advanced over twenty miles from the Rhine. Several bridges were quickly built; so that when the Remagen bridge collapsed the success of the operations was not interfered with.

The next crossing that we heard of was to the South. General Patton commanding the Third Army had crossed the Moselle, and with the help of the Seventh Army cleared the country to the West of the Rhine bounded by the Moselle and the Saar. The Germans had as usual stayed too long, and the result of these operations was the destruction of two German armies. Prisoners, we are told, came in so rapidly that they were a nuisance. The result of this was that the Germans had no troops to defend the Rhine effectually. A crossing was made without difficulty between Mainz and Mannheim, bridges were built, and very soon the American armour was advancing rapidly eastward. At the time we are writing the river Main and the suburbs of Frankfort have been reached, and the armoured division has crossed the frontiers of Bavaria some seventy miles from the Rhine. They may have accomplished more, but we are not at present being told what they have done.

Hardly had we heard of this when the news came that the Twenty-first Army group under Field Marshal Montgomery had also crossed. This was the most important of the crossings for the German opposition was by far the most formidable, and here their best troops were stationed. It was expected to be the most difficult, and every preparation had been made. The German positions had been heavily bombed from the air, and from long-range artillery. The whole of the front was concealed under a heavy smoke screen. A large flotilla of specially constructed boats, under the control of the Royal Navy, carried the troops across. A large parachute army joined in the attack. All the operations were quickly successful. Four bridgeheads were established. There was a certain amount of

hard fighting, particularly on the Northern Front where the best German troops were established, but very soon an advance of seven miles from the Rhine was made, which has since been extended. Eight bridges have been built, and troops and armour are pouring over: we may add that the operations were witnessed by the Prime Minister, who more than once crossed the Rhine. Casualties were very light.

That is the position at present. Again we are expectant. The resistance of the Germans is said to be slackening, and there are signs that it is breaking up. The four bridgeheads have been joined together. The American Ninth Army is across, and is advancing. The greater part of six armies are now on the Eastern bank of the Rhine. The time for a rapid advance seems at hand. We are expectant.

THE EASTERN FRONT.

The important point to notice on the Eastern front is the advance against Vienna. East Prussia is being cleared, and we may expect very shortly to hear of the fall of Königsberg and Dantzig. All the preparations are being made for the final assault on Berlin. The interesting fact, however, is the victories of Malinovsky and Tolbukhin, and the rapid advance of the Russians towards the Austrian frontier and Vienna, and the efforts being made by the Germans to oppose it. They are said to have concentrated 50 divisions against them. It is clear that Vienna is looked upon as an outpost of Munich, and that it is to the South that the German armies desire to retire.

THE OUTLOOK.

In the East the armies are concentrated against Berlin and Vienna. In the West six armies are across the Rhine. What may we expect?

It is important to notice General Eisenhower's expectations. He does not think that unconditional surrender will come from any act of the German authorities. There is no one in the position to surrender whose surrender we could accept. It

must come by the destruction of the German armies and by the action of the Allies in restoring order and setting up a civil Government. How long that will take we cannot tell. Only one thing we should like to ask, that as soon as possible Holland should be freed. We hope that if its garrison is cut off from any communication with the Reich it may be compelled to capitulate through the absence of supplies.

X.

SHORT ARTICLE.

IS A BELIEF IN MIRACLES REASONABLE?

THOUGH the present writer has not attained whatever faith he possesses without many wrestlings with "sturdy doubts and boisterous objections" yet, strangely, a belief in the possibility of miracles, or at least some miracles, came easily enough. For such a belief seemed a very reasonable one and not irreconcilable with his scientific convictions. Of course, much depends upon how one defines the word "miracle." There is one order of miracles, for example, in which we all believe, though not all of us have the grace to award them their due meed of wonder. The greatest miracle of all, before which all recorded miracles pale into insignificance, lies in the fact that there *is* something. For, as Mr. Alfred Noyes points out in his book *The Unknown God*, there might have been nothing at all.

Another commonplace miracle, if we may use the adjective, great enough though less than the other, is the miracle of language, especially the miracle of the written word. What is a greater miracle, in the ordinary course of things, than a book? Perhaps among the volumes sent in to our salvage depôts we come upon a tattered book which proves to be a copy of some immortal work by a master long since dead. As it lies there, cast out and unvalued, nothing would appear to be less alive. We take it up, open and read it. At once the miracle of *non omnis moriar* is repeated afresh. But the instrument of this miracle is a mere succession of marks on paper, and yet by these our living mind and the dead one enter into a mystic partnership. Moreover, by the black and white contrast we can roam at will a whole world of thought and action or experience the whole gamut of the emotions. A marvel indeed, though custom has staled its wonder.

However, the real difficulty for most lies in another order of the miraculous, viz., those miracles which are or appear to be in contradiction of the "laws" of nature or which seem to upset her "continuity." It may here be noted that the difficulty now is of a different kind from that which beset our

Victorian forefathers, for both nature's "laws" and its "continuity" have for us a different and more subtle meaning than for them. They, for instance, often failed to realize that, in speaking of "laws" in this connection, they were using a simile drawn from man-made jurisprudence. But, ignoring for the moment theological considerations, the laws of nature do not necessarily imply a legislator. We now know that many, if not all these laws are the laws of averages. Again, since the modern development of the physics of the infinitely little we have come to realize that apparent randomness on a sufficiently large scale may, by an amazing miracle of its own, issue in orderliness, and that a "law" may even be born of the concatenations of chance. If we take, say, a single electron we cannot, at one and the same time, predict both its position and its velocity though we can, by ignoring one function, accurately gauge the other. Thus the mysterious principle of "indeterminacy" creeps in to a formerly determinate world. Yet when we take electrons, protons and other leas'ts in the mass we enter again the comfortable domain of Newtonian physics with its fixed and unalterable laws.

Moreover, the modern physicist would not even be able to subscribe, without serious mental reservation, to the complete doctrine of the continuity (or uniformity) of nature, or even to the doctrine of causality as dogmatically stated by his scientific forebears. Indeed, Natural Philosophy (the term is a good one and should never have been abandoned) seems at present to be in a state of flux and perhaps the most valid of all laws is the one formulated of old time: *πάντα ῥεῖ*

But, as our scientific pundits have warned us that we are not yet justified in founding any theological argument upon difficulties which have appeared in latter-day physical theory, we will magnanimously forgo any advantage which might accrue from pursuing this aspect of the matter further. The more willingly will we do this since we are convinced that, even labouring under the handicap of accepting the old rigid definitions of "law" and "continuity" it is still possible to make out a *prima facie* case for the reasonableness of a belief in miracles.

First let us consider, generally, the miracles recorded in the Gospels. In these days, there is a widespread tendency,

by no means confined to the irreligious, to discount the miraculous element in Christ's work on earth. It is freely admitted that he had exceptional powers and success in dealing with sick people, but this is explained by his possession of psychological gifts of a high order analogous to those seen in other persons exceptionally endowed. These powers, it is granted, allow their possessors often to minister successfully to diseases which have their origin in a mind discord, that is, to "functional" disorders, but it is denied by most that such powers can operate in disorders involving organic changes of structure. And so, only those "miracles" of Christ's healing are allowed which can possibly be referred to mental action upon mental disharmonies: all the rest are washed out or explained on the supposition of inaccurate reports by admirers who have allowed their enthusiasm to outrun their judgment. The raisings from the dead, of course, are summarily dismissed as legendary accretions.

On this, two preliminary remarks are called for. Firstly, physicians are not now nearly so rigid as once they were, in the line they draw between "organic" and "functional" ailments. Some of our most eminent doctors recognize that there is, in truth, no sharp boundary between the two. It would even appear that sometimes a powerful mental impression may predispose to the evolution of organic disease. In one of the earlier editions of the late Professor Osler's *Text Book of Medicine*, for example, he relates that two out of three physicians in attendance upon a dramatic and ultimately fatal case of angina pectoris were themselves shortly afterwards seized of that disease, apparently by reason of the strong mental impression received and the anxiety occasioned by the fact that their patient was a person of high importance. There appears also to be good evidence that, in some exceptional cases, bodily stigmata have been produced by strong mental impressions. The five wounds of St. Francis may have been a case in point. We are indeed only at the beginning of the study of the relation between mind and body and the old dogmatism is out of date. If it be possible that mind can on body produce lesions which must be regarded as "organic," may it not also be possible that mind, acted upon by a uniquely endowed personality, can sometimes reduce organic irregularities to normality?

Second, though we must admit that an incrustation of miracle may easily accumulate around the memory of certain saintly persons, yet the miracles of Jesus appear to be miracles with a difference. In many of the ordinary chronicles of hagiology, the miraculous element is presented in such a way (so to speak) as to advertise the hero or heroine of the narrative. But this is not so in the accounts given of the miracles of Jesus which are presented, in most cases, with no attempt at dramatization, indeed often in very bare detail. Our Lord himself repeatedly refused to allow his miracles to be advertised when there was everything to be gained by their publication. Very rarely indeed did he appeal to his miraculous powers as proof of his mission, and then only when he was driven to it as a last resort. On the most notable of these occasions, viz., when he sought to resolve the imprisoned John the Baptist of his doubts, he pointed to the fact that the Gospel was preached to the poor as evidence of equal value to that afforded by his greatest miracles.

Now let us study for a moment, more particularly, the account given in St. John's Gospel of one of the most amazing of his miracles, yet one which, as it seems to the present writer, is paradoxically enough, one of the most easily credible: that of the raising of Lazarus from the dead. First let us read some excerpts from the account as given in the inspired translation of our authorized version, which does but reflect the beauty and simplicity of the original Greek:

"Then, when Mary was come where Jesus was, and saw him, she fell down at his feet; saying unto him, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. When Jesus therefore saw her weeping, and the Jews also weeping which came with her, he groaned in the spirit and was troubled. And he said, Where have ye laid him? They said unto him, Lord, come and see. Jesus wept. Then said the Jews, Behold how he loved him! . . . Jesus therefore again groaning in himself cometh to the grave. It was a cave and a stone laid upon it. Jesus said, Take ye away the stone . . . Then they took away the stone from the place where the dead was laid. And Jesus lifted up his eyes, and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me. And I knew that thou hearest me always: but because of the people which stand by I said it,

that they may believe that thou hast sent me. And when he had thus spoken, he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus come forth. And he that was dead came forth bound hand and foot with grave clothes: and his face was bound with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, Loose him, and let him go."

If this was an invented episode what a chance was missed by the narrator to introduce his Hero with all the trumpets of pomp and circumstance! What an opportunity for fine writing with all the graces of style and language! But no! He, the Lord of Life, who was able to invade death like a conqueror, is represented as troubled in spirit to a degree exceeded only by that of the agony in Gethsemane's garden. He who knew that his voice would unstop the deaf ears of the dead, who knew that even in the deep pit of Hades his call would reach his friend and draw him forth approaches the sepulchre with groans and sighs. Strange! yet perhaps not so strange. Though Death was this time to be robbed of his prey, the hour was not yet come when in the fulness of time this last enemy should be destroyed, and the tender heart of our Lord was grieved by the thought of the misery and sorrow Death was yet to wreak upon the race of men. Then recovering and gathering all his power, his clarion cry rings out: "Lazarus come forth!" And with that cry the icy bands of death were loosed.

This account is so right, so direct, so simple that it seems impossible to doubt it. There is not a false note in it anywhere: the impress of truth is on every sentence. If this be indeed fiction, if this be a product of the imagination, then we have here almost as great a miracle as that which the passage purports to describe. We may indeed admit that if the John of the Fourth Gospel is the same person as the John of the Apocalypse (which is doubtful) then he was possessed of a powerful imagination. But the description of this miracle does not read like an effort of the imagination: the impression is irresistible that the event was enacted, not fabricated. What artist could so conceal art unless he were inspired by the art of Truth herself? It is worth remarking here that Rider Haggard, who must be admitted to have known something of the workings of imagination, tells us in his posthumous autobiography that

appeal to this faculty is quite incompetent to explain the Gospel narratives.

Yet, of course, this reasoning cannot be expected to carry weight with those who are unimpressed by or insensitive to the delicacies of style and language. Let us, then, for the sake of argument, accept the most rigorous definitions of natural "law" and "continuity" we can find and ask no more than that we refrain from starting "with a preconceived notion of what is possible and what is impossible in this almost unexplored universe."¹ Perhaps the best way to approach the subject is by way of analogy. To the old objection that analogy is not argument, we may reply that analogy has its uses and has led to discoveries even in the domain of science itself. If we may repeat what we have written elsewhere,² analogy may be regarded as a gentle guide which leads a man into paths Truth has been known to frequent and where he may come upon her in chance encounter. Or, better still, it may be likened to an open window whence a man may spy to see if truth be in the neighbourhood.

The analogy, then, we propose to employ is one suggested by a passage in Professor R. A. Wilson's remarkable book, *The Miraculous Birth of Language*,³ though we owe an apology to the author for expanding and adapting it to our own purpose.

Christians, and even some others, will have no difficulty in admitting that, in the scale of terrestrial evolution, the Son of Man must be held to be immeasurably more above man than man is above the animals, than the animals are above trees and herbs and than trees and herbs are above stocks and stones. Now in each successive grade of this evolutionary uplift new powers appear unpredictable from a study of the grade below. In the lowest grade of stocks and stones mechanical laws reign supreme, but in each upward thrust these laws are, in a sense, transcended, a relative freedom from them appears in growing degree and that—be it noted—not by breaking the laws but by the emergence of a new capacity to mould and use them or,

¹ Sir Oliver Lodge: *Raymond*, 9th Ed., p. 331.

² In *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*.

³ British Publisher's Guild. Guild Twelve extra. (J. M. Dent & Sons).

more accurately perhaps, to obey them in a more perfect way. We see, for example, on the one hand a great tree uplifting its bulk to the sky, and on the other, a mass of cut wood in a timber-yard. The wood in this yard has no power of itself to move an inch in any direction, it must await the operation of a force external to itself. But the tree, from some impellant within itself, has lifted tons of wood upwards in apparent defiance of the law of gravitation. Yet the botanist knows that, in reality, the tree has transgressed none of the "laws" of nature, but by the exercise of powers not resident in non-living matter, has made use of natural laws in a manner not possible to the dead wood. It has attained a certain freedom which, however, has nothing to do with lawlessness. It is indeed as law-abiding as the inert wood in the timber-yard.

If we can allow ourselves for a moment to imagine it, to the stocks and stones the power of the tree to raise itself would have the appearance of a "miracle," the principle of the uniformity of nature as known to stocks and stones would seem to be cut clean across. Similarly, to the tree, the power of animals to move from place to place would seem to be a miracle cutting across all the laws of nature as known to the tree. To the animals again, the works of man would appear to be miracles also defying the uniformity principle as ruling in their world. Yet in none of these cases are any "laws" broken. May we not now carry the analogy further? From a human point of view, when Christ appeared on earth the evolutionary consummation was reached. What more reasonable than to suppose that with his advent new and higher powers emerged never before known, powers unpredictable by a study of the nature of man as he was, just as man's powers were unpredictable by a study of the animal mind? By these powers he was able to produce manifestations which seemed to abrogate natural "laws" and disturb our conception of nature's uniformity. But may this not be an illusion due to our insufficient realization of the possibility of the emergence of new powers which enabled their unique possessor to use natural laws with a unique mastery and freedom? With all reverence, we may suggest that the miracles of Christ may have been perfectly natural occurrences, but possible only to one who knew how to obey natural law in a perfect manner. Again to

quote Sir Oliver Lodge: "The bare possibility (of the miraculous) has been hastily and illegitimately denied. But so long as we do not imagine it to be a region denuded of a law and order of its own . . . our denial has no foundation . . . They (i.e., miracles) need be no more impossible, no more lawless, than the interference of a human being would seem to a colony of bees."⁴

Yet, perhaps, Butler has best put the matter and there is a passage in the *Analogy* which still seems as valid as when he wrote it: "Miracles must not be compared to common natural events; or to events which, though uncommon, are similar to what we daily experience; but to the extraordinary phenomena of nature. And then the presumption will be between the presumption against miracles, and the presumption against such uncommon appearances." Here we will break off for a moment and substitute for his own examples one which he would have been glad to be able to use, viz., the phenomena of radium and radioactivity which have upset many of our preconceived ideas about the nature of Nature. To resume our quotation: "And before one can determine, whether there be any peculiar presumption against miracles, more than against other extraordinary things; he must consider, what, upon first hearing would be the presumption against the last mentioned appearances and powers to a person acquainted only with the daily, monthly, and annual course of nature respecting this earth, and with those common powers of matter which we everyday see."

We know how sceptical even scientists were of the existence of such a substance as radium when the Curies first suggested the possibility of the occurrence of such a body and before they had actually isolated it. All their presumptions, drawn from what they then knew, were against the existence of such a marvellous substance whose properties would, if the Curies were right, compel them drastically to revise the apparently well-founded and well-demonstrated "fact" of the indestructibility of the atom.⁵

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 390.

⁵ See *Madame Curie*, by Eve Curie, trs. by Vincent Sheehan. (Heinemann).

In conclusion, the present writer has, in his time, paid too many visits to Doubting Castle to have any quarrel with those who, in good faith, cannot admit the possibility of the occurrence of miracles. All he seeks to do is to show that those who *can* admit the possibility may do so without offering that violence to their reason of which our more militant "rationalists" accuse them.

E. W. ADAMS.

REVIEWS.

The Original Order and Chapters of St. John's Gospel. By F. R. HOARE. (Burns Oates). 160 pp. 10s. 6d.

WHETHER or no Mr. Hoare's "original order" find acceptance, he has established an important principle, and no one who takes it upon himself to mend the order of the Scriptures can afford to neglect this book. If one postulates an accidental disarrangement of the original order of the Fourth Gospel, and if one goes on to propose a re-arrangement into the "original order," it is not enough to do so only on the ground that better sense is produced : one must also explain the nature of the accident which caused just these displacements of just this "original order."

Briefly, the contention of Mr. Hoare is this : that the sheets of the fair copy of the Gospel were stacked upon a table ready to be pasted together into a roll, when the table was overturned. The sheets were reassembled by someone who, though he by no means put them together at random, was yet not wholly successful in sorting them out in their original order. It follows that it is sections which will fit on to a whole sheet or a sequence of whole sheets which have been transposed. If, therefore, it were possible to determine how many lines were written on a sheet and how many letters to a line it would also be possible to assert with some exactness what passages could, and what passages could not, have been displaced by this particular accident. By testing hypothesis after hypothesis and checking each rigorously, Mr. Hoare found that the supposition of a sheet containing 397 letters in 21 lines provides the necessary conditions. Each "segment," as he terms it, which one proposes to transfer must be a multiple of 397 letters. Counting all the letters he finds 21 segments (up to the end of chapter 16). Each of these begins at the top of a sheet and ends at the bottom of a sheet, so that (if one took no account of sense) one could place each of them somewhere else. In fact, once the segments are identified, the context is the only

guide to the "original order." If Mr. Hoare's segments be allowed, no one is likely to find a sounder sequence of them than that which he proposes as the "original order."

The complicated arguments in defence of all this are well-marshalled, and no one is likely to feel that a Baconian has somehow got loose from Shakespeare and turned up in the Fourth Gospel. There is a sanity and an integrity which forbid the charge of crankiness.

His transpositions are fairly numerous—more numerous, I imagine, than he intended when he embarked upon his investigation. Looking for an explanation for the transference of vii, 15-24 and one or two other passages he found himself with 21 segments, all of which could in theory, though not in practice, be transposed. Some of his proposed changes are unexpected, particularly of iv, 3b (from *καὶ ἀπῆλθεν*)—iv, 43, to a position between chapters i and ii. His "original order" from xiii, 1 to the end of the Gospel runs as follows: xiii, 1-19; xv, 17-xvi, 4a; xiii, 20-xiv, 14; xvi, 15b-23; xiv, 15-24a; xvi, 4b-15a; xiv, 24b-xv, 16; xvi, 24 to the end of the Gospel.

Whether such a book as this is necessary is debatable. Christians will continue to read St. John's Gospel in public worship and in private study in the order of the Bible, even if scholars accept Mr. Hoare's thesis. Yet two things are gained: first, this book ought to put a stop to light-hearted and irresponsible transpositions, and secondly, we are once more reminded both that God's Word is spoken by man, fallible man (which forbids Fundamentalism), and also that it is God's Word which is spoken by man, so that even if for 19 centuries the Church has read St. John otherwise than he intended, yet the Word of God has never ceased to speak through it. If the original order of the Gospel has indeed been discovered, it is not an unimportant matter, and fresh illumination is thrown upon the "hard sayings," set now in their true context. And yet the Church at large will rightly ignore the discovery, knowing that neither will the "original order" persuade those who having ears hear not, nor will the wrong order prevent those who are Christ's from hearing the Word of God.

F. C. SYNGE.

Eighteenth-Century Piety. By W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE. (S.P.C.K.).
10s. 6d

To live for a few hours in the eighteenth or nineteenth century is perhaps a legitimate form of "escapism" in time of war. There is certainly a vogue for the novels of a hundred years ago or more. The miscellany before us will provide such recreation and also much instruction. It is as fascinating as we should expect, when we see the name of the author. The chief purpose of the book is to contribute to the history of S.P.C.K. An account is given of books published in the eighteenth century, and of the Society's great Secretary, Henry Newman (1708-43). But the volume includes various sketches written by the author during the last thirty years, and not always confined to the eighteenth century. Many books published in recent years have "helped to reverse the nineteenth century's depreciation of its predecessor," and Dr. Clarke has the same object in view. Nelson and Ken, though non-jurors, set the tone of S.P.C.K. churchmanship. It emerges from a book published in 1768 that occasional use of sacramental Confession was expected, even though the penitent was in good health. Bishop Gilbert Burnet's *Discourse of the Pastoral Care* (3rd edition 1712) "is a revelation to those who think of the Bishop as a typical Latitudinarian and political prelate." (p. 23.) In the sources considered Dr. Clarke does not find the slightest sign of complacency in the Church of England. "We get the impression of a militant Church, fighting for its life against unbelief and coarse and dissolute manners, depressed at times by the magnitude of its task, but fully conscious both of the evil it was facing and of its impotence to face it in its own strength." (p. 28). What was missing was adequate appeal to the emotions. Charles Wesley's hymns illustrate what was lacking in Anglican piety.

The chapters on Henry Newman and his contacts with America are delightful. A paper on the Homilies shows them in a better light than those (the majority of us) who have never thoroughly read them, would expect. An account is given of Dr. Bray, who founded both S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. He was Rector of Sheldon, which fact is commemorated by the imprint, "The Sheldon Press," on S.P.C.K. literature which is not definitely religious. Later

we read of the Rev. Robert Anderson in the 1830s, taking two months to prepare a hundred Confirmation candidates, and of Bishop Otter confirming them, with over seven hundred others—all this before Tractarianism could have exercised its influence. Modern readers of Mrs. Ewing may indignantly disagree with Dr. Clarke, who cannot get up enthusiasm for *Jackanapes* or even *The Story of a Short Life*. But they will smile at the author's philosophising at the end of the chapter. "There has been no space to explain how much the picture of childhood drawn by Mrs. Ewing differs from that familiar from the novels of the post-Freudian period. Were children ever so innocent and sweet, and so determined to be good, as these children of hers? If, as many old people will testify, they were, or at least the girls were, in many sheltered middle-class homes, educational 'progress' has not been so marked as we should like to think." (p. 154f.)

The volume ends with seventeen reproductions of lovely eighteenth century pictures, some of them from an illustrated Prayer-Book, dated 1727.

F. HOOD.

Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity. By WILFRED L. KNOX, D.D. (The Schweich Lectures, 1942. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press). pp. 108. 7s. 6d.

DR. KNOX'S thesis is that our records of Christian origins, in addition to "the older Christian tradition" and Jewish rabbinical theology, contain also elements derived from Hellenistic sources: not that these sources were at first hand known to the evangelists, but that they already formed part of that common stock of Hellenistic ideas with which the rabbinical schools, of Jerusalem as well as of the dispersion, were accustomed to arm their pupils for purposes of apologetic or propaganda. Examples are given from St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts and (with great completeness) from the Fourth Gospel.

These lectures are perhaps of great importance: certainly the point of view which they represent has got to be squarely faced. As one expects from Dr. Knox, they are amazingly learned,

especially in those byways of late Greek religious and philosophic literature which a few of us have cast an eye over but (to our loss) very few have thought worth serious investigation. Yet they are singularly unpersuasive : almost every sentence provokes remonstrance, and the feeling that something is being read into the Gospel record which is very unlikely to have been in the evangelist's mind. Moreover though one does not look for religious values in anything so scientific as Schweich lectures, one not uncommonly receives the uncomfortable impression—which is partly redeemed by the last paragraph of Lecture III—of disrespect for the divine Word. "What follows is, however, lamentable" (of course in a literary sense), is hardly language one likes to see used of the appeal of the thief on the cross : "The reply of Jesus is equally bad," gives one the shivers.

To consider in detail all the points that seem capable of being questioned would lead far beyond the limits even of a long review, and would have to begin with the consideration of the methods of the academic exercise known as form-criticism. A few remarks on those methods, as used by Dr. Knox, are all we have space for.

(1) The adverb "simply" is a question-begging word : it does not as a rule hazard the statement that one thing is "simply" another, but conveys the suggestion that no one in his senses will dream of questioning the statement made. We have noted it thrice at one opening of the book (pp. 62, 63) and it occurs elsewhere as well. It is worth while to consider whether it is in place in a learned discussion.

(2) The expression "It is possible," and its equivalents, are not sufficient foundations on which to construct an edifice. That Dr. Knox does not attempt to do. But the accumulation of them can be employed to convey an impression, which the reader may retain as an impression while forgetting that its value is no more than that of its several constituents—namely, a series of guesses. At one opening of the book (pp. 40, 41) we note these phrases : It is possible ; this can only mean ; it would seem ; it is at least possible ; it remains possible ; it is probable ; it was perhaps.

(3) Dr. Knox may be right in his suggestion that the evangelists (or their oral sources) constructed their speeches (even our Lord's

words in the Garden of Gethsemane) on the principles of the artificial prose of the popular rhetorical type—though one would like further evidence that these tricks were known, or that quantity was still a living element of language, in the circles in which the Christian tradition took shape: in any case *πνεῦμα πρόθυμον* scans — υ υ | — υ (the forbidden hexameter termination), not — υ | υ υ υ (page 3), and his suggested improvement of the end of St. Stephen's speech (page 15, footnote 2) could itself be improved on, and is not nearly so impressive as the "intolerable" *καὶ οὐκ ἐφνυλάξατε*. From which it seems that in the newer forms of scriptural criticism personal impression counts for perhaps more than it ought.

As an example of English typography at its best this book is beyond all praise: we have observed only one misprint (p. 93, l. 12). The abundance of its learning is a joy.

E. EVANS.

The Question of Anglican Orders. Letters to a Layman. By DOM GREGORY DIX. (Dacre Press). 4s. 6d.

It might seem as though nothing fresh could be said in the long drawn out and wearisome controversy over the validity of Anglican orders—now over three centuries old; it is hard to think of any dispute which has produced such a mass of literature good and bad and so little conviction on either side in the long story of ecclesiastical quarrels. But Dom Gregory Dix can always be relied upon to break a deadlock by the introduction of new weapons and to convert trench warfare into a campaign of movement, and he has succeeded in infusing new life even into this apparently unpromising field of combat. It would take too long to explain in detail the new factors he introduces into the old question; his detailed argument must be read to be appreciated. It will suffice to draw attention to two points, one entirely new, the other forgotten, which Dom Dix raises. The former is the vastly greater knowledge we possess to-day of early ordination rites than was available in 1896 when Leo XIII issued his bull condemning Anglican orders—knowledge which seriously in-

validates some of that document's arguments. The latter is the virtually forgotten fact, originally ascertained by Canon Lacey, that the earlier official condemnations of our ordinations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, upon which Leo XIII relied as precedents, took as the sacramental "form" in the Anglican Ordinal a formula quite different from that branded as defective by Leo. The general result, both of the new matter brought into the argument and of a refreshingly new treatment of the old evidence, is that Dom Dix's brochure constitutes a valuable and convincing defence of the claim of the Church of England to have retained the sacramental grace of Holy Orders, and this in a form comprehensible to the educated layman as well as to the theological student. For it is precisely its pastoral note which gives the booklet its charm and value. It has grown out of a series of letters actually written to a number of layfolk in perplexity and exhibits its author as a sympathetic pastor as well as a scholar. The letters, to which the essays containing the main argument are attached, contain some of the wisest counsels upon what is colloquially known as "Roman fever" we have seen for some time and should be of exceptional use, not only to people in the position of the "Harry" to whom they are addressed, but also to the many priests endeavouring to help a multitude of such Harrys and keep them with us. It is perhaps not realised by those whose work does not bring them into direct contact with souls how many of them there are—not all laymen and by no means always those whom one would *a priori* expect to be attacked by misgivings over their position in the Church of England. The centenary year of Newman's secession finds us in a situation in which the events of 1845 might easily be repeated with the same dire results; the reason is the same, for the Jerusalem Bishopric crisis and the other matters which influenced Newman's decision have their analogues in even more acute form to-day. Our thanks are all the more due to Dom Dix for his timely aid, and perhaps we may express the hope that he will later deal in his inimitable way with other points in the Roman question, of which, as he recognises, the matter of Anglican orders is only one among those which unsettle souls.

T. M. PARKER.

Redeeming the Time. By JACQUES MARITAIN. (Geoffrey Bles : The Centenary Press). 1943. pp. 276. 12s. 6d.

THIS is a difficult but a valuable book : its value would be even greater if the expression and style were simpler and clearer. As it is, the ordinary reader, unaccustomed to foreign idioms and the latest jargon, will find this book rather hard ; but if he makes the effort to read it, he will be amply rewarded for his labours.

The book is a collection of more or less independent essays on matters philosophical, political, and social ; in each, the attempt is made to show that the Christian religion has something vital to say on the subject under discussion. That is, the book as a whole attempts to show that Christianity can offer an integrated presentation of life, both satisfactory to the intellect and relevant to practical conduct ; several contemporary problems are selected as representative of our age, and in respect of each of them the Christian view is worked out.

The appeal of the more narrowly philosophical essays may be limited. But chapter I and chapters V to VIII should be read by all who are concerned with the relation of Christian thought to the social problems of to-day. The author, as a neo-Thomist, writes from a firm theological position, and works out the implications of his Christian faith for several pressing questions—the nature and basis of human equality, the possibility and basis of good fellowship and co-operation between men of different creeds, the status of Israel in the world and its relation to God's purpose and the Church, and the ways in which the Church can and should work for progress in the social order. The author writes as a Roman Catholic, but this does not limit the validity or usefulness of what he says.

That the times are urgent is not likely to be questioned, and it is surely true that the Christian view of the relation of man to man needs to be proclaimed clearly and unceasingly. We may regret this necessity ; we may feel that we ought to be able to take the Christian view for granted in this twentieth century. But it is obvious that we cannot ; and that non-Christian views of the nature and relationships of man are widely held and acted upon, with disastrous consequences. M. Maritain's statement of the

Christian view, its theological basis, and its practical implications, is therefore very timely and deserves careful attention.

The present writer, however, has a protest to make—not against the matter of the book, but its style. Is it necessary to use so much theological and philosophical jargon? If “words” like “amphibological” are extensively used, a glossary should be provided. Surely it is not necessary to insert a 21-word parenthesis between the subject and verb of a sentence (p. 140), nor to invent sentences containing 187 words and only one main verb (pp. 52-3). The translator has not always succeeded in escaping from French constructions: “It needs that” (p. 115) is scarcely an English idiom.

But not all the pages are marred by obscurities, and the reader is urged to overlook these for the sake of the truths he will find in this book. Above all, the present writer would pick out for commendation the chapter entitled “The Mystery of Israel,” which is cogent and stimulating in its argument, clearly expressed, and intensely moving.

G. M. STYLER.

Dispensation in Practice and Theory with special reference to the Anglican Churches. pp. xv and 186. (S.P.C.K.). 7s. 6d.

THIS is the report of a commission, of which Bishop Palmer (who edits the book) was the chairman, appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1935 in consequence of an unpublished resolution of the 1930 Lambeth Conference. The commission originally consisted of ten members, but four of them through death or pressure of other business were unable to attend more than a small number of meetings. The Report is preceded by a historical introduction in three chapters with appendices, and itself consists of discussions and recommendations to the extent of ninety-five pages: it is followed by two minority reports, a short one by the Bishop of Oxford, who states his inability (for undefined reasons) to sign the main report, and a longer one by Dr. Sparrow Simpson, who specifies the points in which he dissents and gives his reasons. The question is bound to arise what may be the cogency of a set

of recommendations with which two such learned theologians decline to associate themselves.

The report is, one may presume, primarily intended for the guidance of the next Lambeth Conference, which may be asked, on this basis, to attempt to provide by local dispensations an *ad hoc* solution of problems arising from Christian divisions and from the clash between the ecclesiastical and civil law of marriage. But one would form a poor idea of the learning possessed by the collective episcopate if one were to think that these documents were meant only or primarily for them: indeed, most of the *information* conveyed in this book is such as any cleric might be expected to have without regarding himself as specially well-informed. The late Archbishop of Canterbury recommends the reports to the attention of thoughtful members of the Anglican Communion (horrid phrase!): certainly there is nothing in them which will make hard reading for anyone of but moderate education, though it is possible that all but a few will find the reading dull.

There are a few things in the historical introduction, and a good number in the majority report which seem to need clarification or further consideration. The importance of the consequences if the Lambeth Conference were to take these documents as a basis for action makes it essential for there to be no mistakes even in detail, and may perhaps justify the following criticisms.

(1) Throughout the book it is assumed that *dispensatio* is the same as *οἰκονομία*. In practice they no doubt come to the same thing; but there is a difference in their atmosphere, for the Greek word (in this connexion) looks at the matter rather from the point of view of the person to whom a kindness is done or of the Church which vouchsafes a kindness, whereas the Latin word envisages a person who is allowed to do something otherwise illegal or the law which is in his case relaxed. The ordination of Nectarius and of Ambrose is referred to (on contemporary authority) as an *οἰκονομία*, but one must add that there is no evidence in either case that a dispensation was even thought of: the electing authorities in each case simply disregarded the law, as for instance the law against the translation of bishops was often disregarded (not without protest), and as the Nicene canon

against kneeling in church on Sundays and during Eastertide has been disregarded (except by the Roman clergy) for seven centuries. In other words, if you wish to do an uncanonical but beneficial act it may be good policy just to do it, without talking too much about it.

(2) It is several times remarked (with justice) that dispensations ought only to be given if they contribute to or do not infringe the common good of the Church. Yet it must be admitted that in practice the governing principle in granting them seems to be not the common good but private convenience: marriage licences are an obvious case, as is the dispensation to ordain a boy of twenty-two because he has passed his examinations but is not well enough educated to earn his own living until he is twenty-three, or the frequent dispensations (unless the bishops do it *proprio motu*) to hold the September ordinations in October so as not spoil the bishop's summer holidays. In fact all pretence of the common good seems to be overruled by the provision of the Act of Henry VIII by which the Archbishop is forbidden to refuse such dispensations as have been customarily given.

(3) The suggestion (page 84 and elsewhere) that the provincial synod might under certain circumstances quash or invalidate a dispensation already given, seems to have the possibility of dangerous consequences. For one thing, the dispensation will by that time have been acted on, and to go back on it will cause greater hardship than the original prohibition. For another thing, any act is to be avoided which injures the *auctoritas* of the diocesan bishop, or makes him "lose face" in the eyes of the multitude: and he certainly will lose face if in such a way as this he has his fingers rapped in public. The instances given on page 86 of cases which might be met by dispensation will perhaps seem so trivial and yet so obviously desirable that the only possible course is to do them without question and with a minimum of fuss.

(4) On page 89 the Report makes the strange suggestion that in one of his remarks about the Sabbath our Lord was giving a retrospective dispensation for a breach of the law about preparing food on that day. This is the more remarkable as the difference between dispensation and interpretation has already

been clearly stated. Undoubtedly the Church took our Lord's words in the latter sense, and acted on them by disregarding the Sabbath entirely from the first century till the sixteenth, as it took also his words about the food laws, by which (as the Evangelist remarks) he made all meats clean. The difference is obvious : a dispensation touches a single case : an interpretation is of universal application without further ado.

(5) On page 111 a possibility is suggested that in certain countries, for hygienic reasons, the Church might refuse to marry first cousins (but might in special cases grant dispensations). The Church is concerned with the divine law, not with hygiene, and for it to interfere in a matter in which the medical profession may only give advice and not even the State can prohibit, involves possibilities of great danger.

(6) On page 127 reference is made to the so-called Matthaean exception. It has not apparently even yet been often enough repeated that this exception (which there is no reason for supposing inauthentic) refers only to separation *a mensa et toro*, and that the question of the husband contracting a second marriage is not even envisaged.

(7) The Report (pp. 130 *sqq.*) several times uses the expression "dispense from excommunication." How should such a thing be possible, or even necessary ? Why not just remove the excommunication ? The Canons of 1603 no doubt in several places say that such and such persons are *ipso facto* excommunicate : but canonists seem to be agreed that excommunication never operates *ipso facto*, but only by express decree and in the dioceses where it is promulgated : in any case those parts of the canons have long been disregarded. The remedy in the cases in view would be, not to dispense from an excommunication, but merely to refrain from issuing it, or to remove it if issued. There is some muddled thinking here. And why all this talk about excommunication ? Is there more than one person in England against whom such a sentence lies, or more than one bishop who is prepared to launch one, and to face the action for defamation of character which would almost certainly be brought against him if he did ? There is some lack of reality here.

(8) The awkward case imagined on pp. 141, 142, is covered by the injunction in the Marriage Service, "hereafter for ever hold his peace." The sin lies with the person who in spite of that injunction has divulged the fact of near relationship and so has disturbed consciences which were till then at rest. There can be no question of the excommunication of the married couple: they have committed no sin: but if their conscience is troubled as regards the future, what is called for is a retrospective validation of their marriage as having been undertaken in good faith. This question may be important: we have reason to think that (in the present state of public morals) marriage of half-sisters with half-brothers (both of them unaware of their relationship) is not impossible.

We have said enough to show that this report needs careful scrutiny. It suffers from the defects almost inseparable from work done in committee, including a certain amount of overlapping and some lack of cohesion. Probably the Bishop of Oxford or Dr. Sparrow Simpson or Mr. Mortimer would (working alone) have made a better book.

E. EVANS.

SHORT NOTICES.

Light of Christ. Addresses given at the House of Retreat, Pleshey, in May, 1932. By EVELYN UNDERHILL. (Longmans, Green and Co.) 5s.

ALL who are aware that the teaching of Evelyn Underhill was given, at least in her later years, almost as much by word of mouth as by the printed page will be glad to have this series of retreat addresses. They are accompanied by a short memoir from the pen of her friend, Miss Lucy Menzies, which supplements Mr. Charles Williams's introduction to the already published *Letters*, and by a short address upon the idea of retreat given by Miss Underhill at a public meeting. The retreat meditations themselves are seven in number, based upon the earthly life of Christ from incarnation to resurrection, and designed to show the effects of the incarnate life upon us and the need for us to reproduce those effects, in our measure, in other people by our influence upon them. This last is perhaps the most valuable side of what the conductress has to say to her retreatants; she takes pains to drive into their minds the sterility of selfish spirituality and the call which comes to all but the solitary *contemplata aliis tradere*. Nor is the cost of this duty underestimated; Evelyn Underhill, as the memoir points out, knew from her own experience the continual strain upon patience, charity and strength involved in ministry to souls. This and much else is driven home with the charm of style and wealth of apt illustration one expects from the authoress of the addresses. It must be added, however, that they also reveal her weaker points; unfortunate in her time of birth Evelyn Underhill never wholly escaped from the *Zeitgeist* of her formative period. The addresses have too much of the flavour of a spacious age to be wholly acceptable in a more realistic world. The presuppositions recall the hothouse atmosphere of Robert Hugh Benson's over-refined spiritual novels; it seems to be taken for granted that the average retreatant is a cultured and leisured person whose work, costing as it may be, will consist almost entirely in spiritual ministrations in the narrowest sense of the word. This may have been the case with the audience addressed and if so one cannot blame the conductress for adapting her words to their conditions. But there is a certain lusciousness in the style, with its undue use of such words as "loveliness" and "beauty" and its femininity of the early twentieth century tradition, as well as a

theological vagueness of outline, which suggests that this is not the whole reason. Remarkable as she was, a general consideration of Evelyn Underhill's writings makes one feel that she would have been a greater woman had she lived at another epoch than she did and been spiritually educated under different conditions.

T. M. P.

Celibacy and Marriage. A Study in Clerical Vocation. By HENRY R. T. BRANDRETH and SHERWIN BAILEY. ("Theology" Occasional Papers, New Series, No. 7. S.P.C.K.) 2s.

THE two authors who have joined in this symposium are very conscious of what their preface describes as "the tension between the married and celibate clergy" in the Church of England and seek to do something to remove it. That the tension exists no one will deny; however much hidden by good manners and the exercise of charity, it is always present and reveals itself by a constraint all the more awkward for being unexpressed. The method of approach adopted by Mr. Brandreth and Mr. Bailey—the one a celibate, the other a married priest—is for each to write an essay setting forth the positive values of the two states of life as they see them, together with practical suggestions for those pursuing them. Of the two essays it may be said that Mr. Brandreth seems to view celibacy too negatively, as a kind of self-mutilation somehow, in spite of all expectation, made fruitful by God, rather than as in itself a source of power because a direct imitation of Christ. Mr. Bailey on the other hand seems to put marriage too much in the clouds as a kind of theological demonstration to each other and to the world on the part of the married couple, a little too much out of touch with the natural order from which it springs and which gives it its first justification. There is of course truth in these points of view, but both, as presented, seem to us unbalanced. Nor does either author, as it seems to us, bring what he has to say sufficiently into relation with the central ideas of priesthood, though he attempts to do so. It is perhaps for this reason that the symposium seems less cohesive than a symposium should be.

T. M. P.

The World's Question and the Christian Answer. By THE BISHOP OF DERBY. (Longmans.) Pp. viii and 104. 4s. 6d.

THIS is one of the most valuable books we have read for a long time, and very pleasant reading. The Bishop's Visitation Charge to his clergy is, as he says, an attempt "to state what the Christian faith really is." How successfully it is done is evident from the first page onwards. As a statement of Christian doctrine in relation

to modern needs as they really are and not as they are short-sightedly thought to be, and as a disentanglement of its essential principles from the secular shadows of it with which they are perpetually confused, it merits the attention of all. The clergy will welcome it as an encouragement: it says, with freshness and conviction, what they know already but have never expressed so convincingly, and, through the discouragement of public indifference, have almost lost the heart to say. If our social reformers would also read it and act on it, there would be hope for the world.

Seven appendices, though they primarily concern the bishop's own clergy, will be found of interest elsewhere. Mr. Chancellor Wigglesworth's charge to churchwardens is an admirably concise statement of their privileges and duties.

E. E.

St. Augustine's Episcopate: a brief introduction to his writings as a Christian. By W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D. (S.P.C.K.) Pp. xiv and 144. 7s. 6d.

DR. Sparrow Simpson has done a real service. That it is desirable for Augustine's works to be known and read, no one will deny who knows the difference between their firm and comprehensive grasp of Scripture and of the principles of Christian faith and morals, and the general wooliness of much of our modern teaching. Those who propose to undertake such a course of reading can ask for no better guide than this. Those who are too busy to read the great doctor for themselves will find here sound information about the tenor of his thought and the principles involved both in his positive teaching and in the controversies in which he was engaged, not without discreet criticism of his exaggerations. Apart from that, this book is fascinating reading: it is the story of a great life's work, told by one who knows the documents at first hand and who, of all our teachers, is best equipped to tell it.

E. E.

Number One Millbank. The Story of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. By JAMES RAITT BROWN. (S.P.C.K.) 1s.

To those who converse with their fellow-travellers in trains and buses few topics are more familiar than the suggestion, vague and unsubstantiated, that the Church owns slum property and tolerates brothels, from which it derives income. It is sometimes added that the proceeds are spent on paying fat incomes to bishops and other dignitaries. It is desirable that churchmen should grasp and be able to explain the exact facts on which such damaging accusations are based: and the Secretary of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners here

gives the needed information in readable form. Indeed the story of the Commissioners is a splendid and thrilling one. They consist of 64 persons, all of them churchmen; a committee of five does most of the work, and of these two are constantly available. Their work includes the personal oversight of individual properties, being accessible to tenants, dealing with hard cases, making contributions to local good causes. Their income from estates and investments amounts to rather more than three million a year. Most of this is spent on benefiting incumbents and curates. The total payment to bishops, archdeacons and Cathedral Chapters in 1943 was less than the sum set aside for new grants to parish workers. Expenses come to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total income. It is impossible adequately to summarize the facts given by Mr. Brown about the admitted misuse of certain properties of which the Commissioners are ground landlords. The difficulties may be illustrated by the following quotation: "Where the leases are long there are often several intervening interests between the ground landlord and the occupier, actual injury may have to be proved by the ground landlord and from a monetary point of view his interest is so remote and negligible as to stultify his efforts, while neighbours are in few cases willing to give evidence in Court and other evidence of nuisance is difficult to obtain." (p. 45.) Between the two Wars the Commissioners spent nearly a million pounds on housing. An independent survey of all their London properties was made by a housing expert in 1936. The published report describes the management as "exemplary", and the Commissioners as "exceptionally good landlords." Two accusations made against the Commissioners mentioned by Mr. Brown are new to us—that they derive money from dog-tracks and hold investments in armament firms. Neither has any foundation in fact. We hope that this illuminating essay will be widely read.

F. H.

The Old Testament in the Christian Church. By H. F. D. SPARKS. (S.C.M. Press.) 1944. pp. 112. 6s. net.

THIS is in many respects a quite first-rate book. Mr. Sparks has a gift of simple and lucid exposition which should enable the layman (for whom he writes) to understand and appreciate the modern scholar's attitude to the Old Testament. Briefly but with telling illustrations he explains how the old idea of Verbal Inspiration has been dispelled by textual and higher criticism, and how the discoveries of science have forced us to review our estimate of the Book as "the Word of God." What are we to do, then, with the Old Testament to-day? To discard it altogether would seem a

reversion to that Marcionism which the early Church with a true insight condemned as heresy. To discriminate the moral from the "immoral" passages would be a surrender to private judgement. To accept the Book as a whole might mean the triumph of a reactionary conservatism. Mr. Sparks himself advocates the last course with all its dangers. The New Testament, he argues, has its roots in the Old; and a Christianity so far "modernized" as to ignore this, would, in effect, not be Christianity at all. So far, so good. Unfortunately the author makes no real effort to substantiate his plea. Too much is said about the beliefs of the early Church, and too little about the actual unity of the Bible. That this has not been clearly grasped by the writer himself may reasonably be suspected. He seems doubtful of the uniqueness of the Old Testament revelation (p. 77). He repeats the hoary blunder of calling Christianity the "offspring of Judaism" (p. 97). Worse still, he is not altogether averse from the liturgical use of non-Christian literature side by side with the customary Biblical lessons. (It is characteristic of his attitude in general that he argues for the retention of the Old Testament lesson on the ground that "from the very first the Old Testament has been accepted by Christians as normative, or, if we prefer it, 'classical'; and we cannot after nineteen centuries go back on that position.") In short, the end of the book disappoints. Mr. Sparks is to be commended for setting out squarely and honestly what may be called the modern case against the Old Testament, but his own case in support of it must be supplemented from other sources.

W. J. P-A.

The Interpretation of the Bible. (Edward Alleyn Lectures, 1943.)

Edited by C. W. DUGMORE, B.D., Chaplain of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich. (S.P.C.K.) pp. 125. 6s.

MR. Dugmore is to be congratulated on the idea of these lectures, and the list of contributors shows that he has spared no pains in arranging them. The Warden of Keble opens with a lucid talk about the Bible in the early Church. It is followed by Fr. Conrad Pepler, O.P., with a somewhat idealistic review of the Faith in the Middle Ages, and then by Dr. Albert Peel, who contends that the Reformers did *not* regard the Bible as an "inerrant book of rules" but as possessing a "self-authenticating power" which opened it to all who had "personal trust in a personal Saviour." Professor R. H. Lightfoot describes the critical approach to the Bible in the nineteenth century, and Professor T. W. Manson examines the failure of Liberalism to interpret it as the Word of God. Finally the Dean of Christ Church deals with the "recovery of the theological interpretation of the Bible." Unfortunately this last lecture, which

should have been the crown and climax of the book, proves most dismally disappointing. Dr. Lowe has really no interpretation to suggest. "We want something more theological, and to that extent there has been a recovery of a sounder outlook." But the "theology of crisis" is "uncongenial in this country", and "we must remind ourselves that a theological interpretation is no advantage if it means the arbitrary foisting of our own inadequate theology into the text." On the other hand, "once the path of mystical interpretation is entered, anything can mean anything." We imagine that Mr. Dugmore must have hoped for a more satisfying conclusion!

W. J. P-A.

The Bible, the Church and South India, the Proposed Scheme of Church Union in South India considered in the light of Scriptural and Historical Principles with some positive proposals for its modification. By TREVOR JALLAND, D.D. 1944. (Dacre Press.) p. 147. 5s.

DR. Jalland's criticism of the *Scheme* is sober, learned, well-balanced, and therefore persuasive. His chief objection to it is that it is based on expediency ("pastoral urgency") not on principle; and he argues that its wording on vital matters of Faith and Order is so vague and elusive as to admit of the most minimizing interpretation. To show that his fears are not fanciful he examines the modifications which have been made since 1929 and points out they "tend almost without exception in the direction of a non-historic form of Christianity" (p. 107). His own suggestion, that "the Methodist Church and the larger portion (six councils) of the South India United Church" should implement the Scheme as it stands, while the four Anglican dioceses stood for the moment outside, though "in the closest possible fellowship", is hardly likely to commend itself, and is in fact only lightly touched upon (pp. 91-4). The value of the book, (which deserves to be closely read) is, rather, that it reminds us that no mere paper agreement can bring union. The author is surely right when he complains that it does not seem to have occurred to the Indian bishops that "some fresh thinking out of the rationale of Confirmation might have been desirable" (p. 145): but must we not go much further? It is at least the present reviewer's conviction, as he has written elsewhere, that before the Anglican and the Free Churches can unite, they must sit down together and think out afresh the fundamental meaning of the Gospel. If it is simply concerned with redemption from sin, our present divisions will continue, and only a paper agreement will ever be possible. But if it means that the redeemed must manifest as the Body of Christ the revelation of Holy Community, a common resolve to do this will bring a common understanding of the purpose

of the Church, and hence of its Ministry and Sacraments. Till then the argument from "principle" is bound to seem (and in part to be) one-sided, with the result that "expediency" will the more easily disguise itself as brotherly love.

W. J. P-A.

The Hebrew Bible in Art. By JACOB LEVEEN (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1939). (Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, 1944). pp. xii, 142, and xli plates. 12s. 6d. net.

THE author is Assistant Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS. at the British Museum. His Schweich Lectures provide a fascinating introduction to a subject to which little attention has been paid, but which is of interest to the general reader as well as to the biblical scholar and art historian. After an introduction dealing with the historical and archaeological background, the author devotes about one-third of the book to a discussion of the remarkable wall-paintings discovered by Rostovtsoff in the synagogue at Dura-Europos on the middle Euphrates. They date probably from the middle of the 3rd century A.D., at which time, as Mr. Leveen shows, the Rabbinical prohibition of representational art was withdrawn. They are of unusual interest, both as regards the choice of subjects and the execution. Chapters iii and iv deal with the art of the illuminated MSS. of the Hebrew Bible in East and West.

A number of intriguing questions arises. What is the relation of the wall-paintings to the MSS.? What is the influence of such Hebrew art on early Christian art, and the influence of pagan art on both? To these questions Mr. Leveen offers some tentative answers, but considers that much fuller investigation is needed before any definite answers can be given.

The book is illustrated by a number of excellent plates. Unfortunately, owing to war-time stringency many of these are on a reduced scale which makes it difficult to appreciate the beauty of detail: but even so the reproduction is admirable. (On p. 116 some of the references to plates are inaccurate: the correct references are given in the list of plates p. xii.)

H. F. K.

The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel. By AUBREY R. JOHNSON, Ph.D. p. 64. (University of Wales Press Board.) 3s. 6d.

THIS is a painstaking essay which aims at showing that the Hebrew prophet was an important cultic figure, especially in the cult of the Jerusalem Temple, during the monarchy, and to some extent for

two centuries later. As such he was a giver of oracles and a specialist in prayer. After the exile he gradually lost prestige and status, and was reduced by the P School to the subordinate rank of a temple singer. If these contentions can be maintained, and the writer makes out a fairly strong case for them, they will serve as a further refutation of the strangely persistent theory that the prophetic and priestly were to all intents and purposes two distinct religions.

H. F. K.

St. Bernard. The Man and His Message. By WATKIN WILLIAMS. (Manchester University Press.) 1944. 5s.

THIS book is a welcome addition to the English literature on St. Bernard, the more so as it includes a translation of a considerable section of the *De diligendo Deo*. The author's own larger book on St. Bernard is a guarantee of the accuracy of the facts. There is no denying the attractiveness of the picture presented here and it is temerarious for one who has not, like the late Mr. Watkin Williams, spent a lifetime in the study of this subject to criticize it. Nevertheless one feels that the author is so steeped in the writings and outlook of his saint that he does not readily appreciate different personalities and does less than justice to Bernard's opponents. Moreover he does not seem to have taken account of the criticism of the Saint's theology made by Dr. Prestige in his Bampton Lectures. We must confess that for us St. Bernard is one of the most puzzling figures of the twelfth century. We feel that in this book only part of the story is told.

E. K.

The Church of England. By E. W. WATSON. Epilogue by ALWYN WILLIAMS. (Oxford University Press. Humphrey Milford, London.) 3s. 6d.

DR. Watson's short sketch of English Church History, published in the Home University Library, has long been valued as the most brilliant and masterly description of the curious institution to which we belong that has yet appeared. The book was first published in 1914 and since that date there have been many changes and developments, so the second edition has been furnished with an Epilogue by the Bishop of Durham, bringing the story up-to-date. It is an understatement to say that the Epilogue is not unworthy of the book. The Bishop has written as nearly objective an account of the events of the last thirty years as seems possible although the prejudices of an episcopal administrator appear from time to time. It is good to have this book available once more.

E. K.

Clement Joins the Church. By BASIL F. L. CLARKE. (London. S.P.C.K.) 3s. 6d.

THIS is an attractive little book about the Catechism which will be useful to all who teach children, although no one, we imagine, can reproduce it as it stands. It may in fact be more useful to give to children to read than as the basis of lessons. As the title indicates, the book is concerned principally with the practice of Christianity as taught by the Catechism, but even so it is a defect that so very little space is allotted to the doctrines of the Incarnation and Atonement. Admittedly these are very difficult subjects to expound but they ought not for that reason to be passed over lightly.

E. K.

The Official Year-Book of the Church of England 1945. (Church Assembly and S.P.C.K.) 260 pp. 5s.

THE Year-Book has again been issued in the form of a supplement to the 1942 Book which is the last full edition. Most of the book is filled with lists of Church officials at home and overseas, and notes on central organizations.

The Preface contains a review of the Year 1944 with short references to the chief subjects which have occupied public attention. The activities of the Church Assembly and the Convocations are also summarized.

H. M. W.

PERIODICALS.

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. XLIII. No. 2. January, 1945. Allen and Unwin). J. Murray and L. P. Jacks: Food for Thought. A. C. Ewing: The Ethics of Punishing Germany. C. J. Cadoux: The Punishing of Germany after the War of 1914-18. S. Hobhouse: On Praying for our Enemies. A Confession of Faith. H. G. Leibholz: Nationality in History and Politics. R. Eisler: Peace-loving Nations and War-making States. H. H. Fyfe: The Prime Authors of Human Misery. E. B. Castle: Reconciliation in Palestine. L. W. Snell: My Mystical Experience. H. S. Shelton: The Gospels and the New Papyri [*cf. H.J.* Jan.-Oct. 1943]. N. B. Harman: The Hall Mark of Man. G. S. Spinks: Worship and Modern Man. E. L. Allen: Christianity, Property and Social Insurance. S. H. Mellone: Survey of Recent Philosophical and Theological Literature. R. Hamilton: Shaw 'Everybody's Political What's What.' G. Murray: Brend 'Foundations of Human Conflicts.' Sir F. Clark: Jaeger 'Paideia, II.' J. M. L. Thomas: Brunner 'The Divine-Human Encounter.' (4½ pp.). C. J. Cadoux: Klausner 'From Jesus to Paul' [E.T.]; Rawlinson 'Christ in the Gospels.' G. S. Spinks: Murry 'Adam and Eve.'

The Journal of Religion (Vol. XXIV. No. 4. October, 1944. University of Chicago Press). B. E. Meland: Some Unresolved Issues in Theology. C. T. Craig: The Identification of Jesus with the Suffering Servant. W. N. Pittenger: The Christian Philosophy of John Scotus Erigena. A. Altmann: Franz Rosenweig and Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. An Introduction to their 'Letters on Judaism and Christianity.' D. V. Steere: Kierkegaard in English. W. S. Hudson: Quaker History. Reply. T. G. Soares: Sherrill 'The Rise of Christian Education.' J. D. Russell: Bower 'Church and State in Education.' R. W. Schloerb: Noyes 'Preaching the Word of God.' H. Thurman: Steere 'On Beginning from Within.' B. E. Meland: Hazelton 'The Root and Flower of Prayer.' B. M. Loomer: Brightman 'Personalism in Theology.' E. E. Aubrey: Flewelling 'The Survival of Western Culture.' W. W. Fisher: Pritchard 'Palestinian Figurines.' W. R. Taylor: Irwin 'The Problem of Ezekiel.' S. J. Case: Cochrane 'Christianity and Classical Culture.' R. Gordis: Rosenthal (ed.) 'Saadya Studies.' J. T. McNeill: Arbesmann and Humpfner 'Jordani de Saxonia Liber Vitas Patrum.' S. E. Mead: Post 'Popular Free Thought in America, 1825-50.' S. Y. Teng: Goodrich 'Short History of the Chinese People.' W. Pauck: Johnston 'The Doctrine of the Church in the N.T.'; Plumpe 'Mater Ecclesia.'

Bibliotheca Sacra (Vol. CI. No. 404. Dallas 4, Texas: Theological Seminary). L. S. Chafer: Anthropology, II. J. F. Walvoord: Is the Church the Israel of God? C. L. Feinberg: Exegetical Studies in Zechariah, II. J. H. Bennetch: Exegetical Studies in I Peter (*concluded*). A. D. Ehlert: A Bibliography of Dispensationalism, II. R. R. Hawthorne: Jobine Theology, II. E. W. Hooker: Political Duties of Christians, II. A. H. Hamilton: The Doctrine of Infant Salvation, II. M. F. Unger: The Baptism with the Holy Spirit, II. L. S. Chafer: Weaver 'The Revolt Against God.' J. H. Bennetch: McGinley 'Form-Criticism of the Synoptic Healing Narratives.'

Theological Studies (Vol. V. No. 3. September, 1944. Baltimore 2, Md.: America Press). J. C. Ford, S.J.: The Morality of Obliteration Bombing. E. A. Ryan, S.J.: The Ancient Church and the Problems of Persecution.

J. C. Murray, S.J.: Towards a Theology for the Layman. The Pedagogical Problem. W. J. Burghardt, S.J.: Studies in Christian Antiquity. R. Arbesmann: 'Traditio,' Vol. I. S. E. Donlon, S.J.: Chapman 'The Four Gospels.' J. F. Murphy, S.J.: Mauriac 'The Eucharist' [E.T.]. V. R. Yanitelli: Manning 'The Life of St. Dominic in Old French Verse.' L. M. Weber, S.J.: Bodenstedt 'The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian.'

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XXXV. No. 2. October, 1944. Macmillan). A. S. Yahuda: The Story of a Forgery and the Mesa Inscription. R. Patai: 'Arisah. H. M. Orlinsky: Rabas for Sakab in Num. 24, 9. S. Zeitlin: Judaism as a Religion. D. Daube: The Interpretation of a Generic Singular in Galatians iii, 16. A. R. Neuman: Rabbi Isaac Perlef and his Times. T. M. Lewis: Trachtenberg 'The Devil and the Jews.' S. Z[eitlin]: A Note on the Sabbatical Cycles."

The English Historical Review (Vol. LIX. No. 235. September, 1944. Longmans). C. Stephenson: Commendation and Related Problems in Domesday. K. Edwards: The Political Importance of the English Bishops during the Reign of Edward II. A. H. Dodd: North Wales in the Essex Revolt of 1601. N. R. Ker: William of Malmesbury's Handwriting. H. G. Richardson: Tancred, Raymond and Bracton. W. Ullmann: The Influence of John of Salisbury on Medieval Italian Jurists. W. E. Tate: Parliamentary Counter-Petitions during the Enclosures of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. F. M. Powicke: Olschki 'Marco Polo's Precursors' ('masterly'); Smith 'Canterbury Cathedral Priory'; Trevelyan 'Trinity College.' J. Le Patourel: Weinbaum 'British Borough Charters, 1307-1660.' C. M. Ady: Whitfield 'Petrarch and the Renaissance.' C. Johnson: Jacob 'Register of Henry Chichele, I.' G. Davies: Shaw 'Calendar of Treasury Books, Jan, 1704-Mch. 1705.' H. H. Dodwell: Thompson 'The Making of the Indian Princes' (critical). C. W. P[er]vité O[r]ton: Gilmore 'Argument from Roman Law in Political Thought, 1200-1600'; Jacob 'Essays on the Conciliar Epoch.' A. G. D[ickens]: Hamilton Thompson 'Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln, II.' Montagu 'Edward Tyson, 1650-1708.' Franklin 'The Free Negro in N. Carolina, 1790-1860.' W. P. M[orrell]: Howay, Sage and Angus 'British Columbia and the United States.' Reith 'British Police and the Democratic Ideal.' N. S[ykes]: Cross 'Darwell Stone.' A. J. P. T[aylor]: Seton-Watson 'History of the Czechs and Slovaks' (critical).

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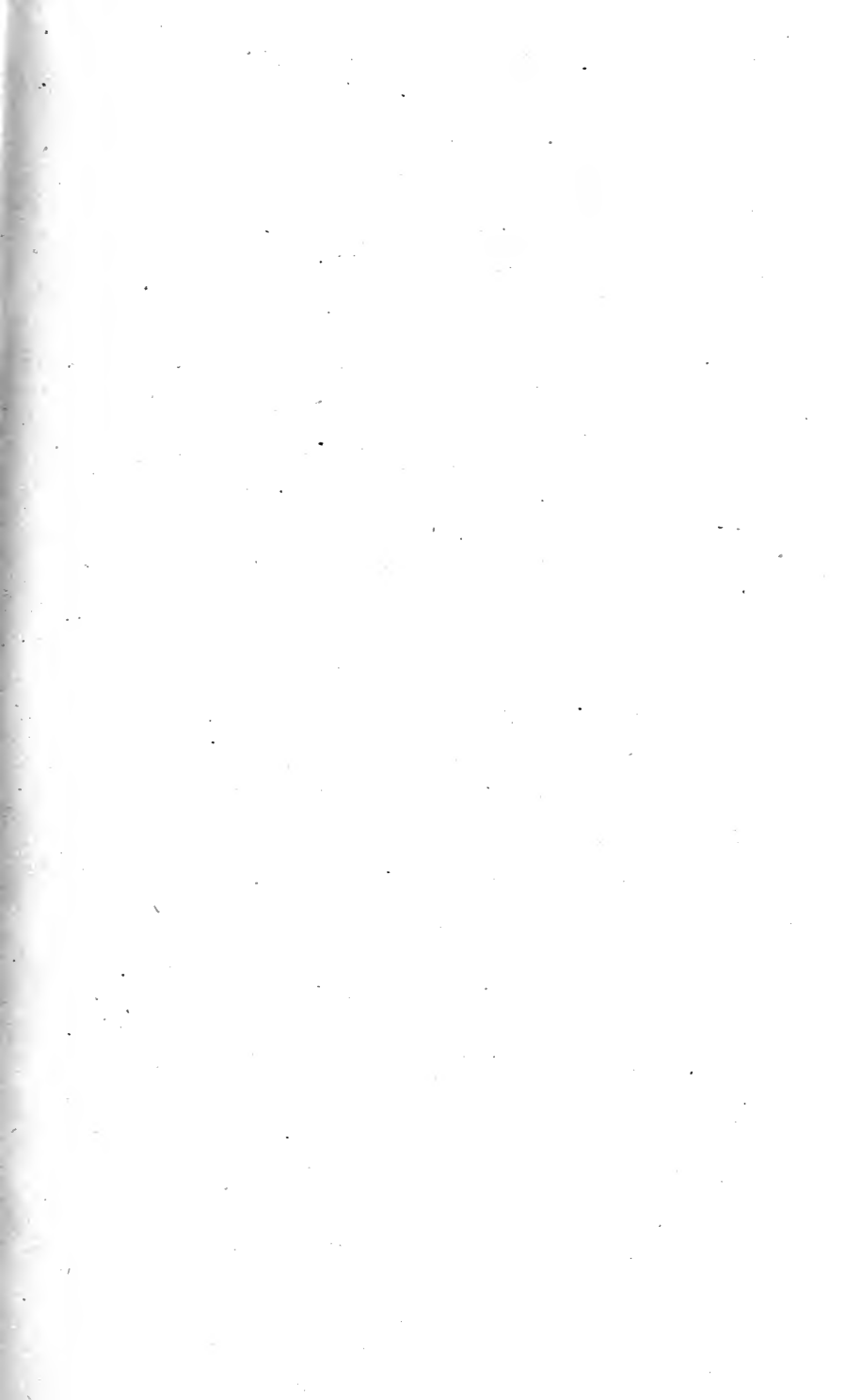
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